

JOHN J. MILLER ON HEINLEIN AT 100

NATIONAL REVIEW

**'Let's
say it's
not an
amnesty'**

**AND OTHER
IMMIGRATION-BILL
HOWLERS**

TERENCE P. JEFFREY ♦ MARK KRIKORIAN

KATE O'BEIRNE ♦ THE EDITORS



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B. PARKER



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■ ON THE COVER

'Give Me the Tools'

"If someone else has a better idea, I'd love to have them give it to us." That was John McCain, challenging his fellow Republican presidential candidates in early June to offer an alternative to the amnesty bill he helped craft with Ted Kennedy. Well, here's a better idea: enforce the law. *By Mark Krikorian*

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RAISING TAXES WON'T GENERATE THE ENERGY SHE'LL NEED

Most Americans agree energy security is a top national priority, because they want to ensure their families' quality of life now and into the future. So why do some in Congress want to raise taxes on the development of oil and natural gas resources?

**Stable tax policies
encourage energy
development**

History shows that changing the rules by raising energy taxes has serious consequences. After Congress levied a "windfall profits" tax in the 1980s, its own non-partisan Congressional Research Service determined this tax diverted \$79 billion from domestic energy investment and reduced U.S. oil production by as much as 1.26 billion barrels.

The U.S. Department of Energy estimates America will need 25 percent more oil and natural gas by 2030. And to make sure future generations will have it, we need stable tax policies that encourage the development of critical energy resources. Benefiting Americans today – and especially tomorrow.

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OIL AND NATURAL GAS INDUSTRY

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IMMIGRANTS AND JOBS

In "Comprehensively Awful" (June 11), John O'Sullivan calls it "well known that immigration redistributes income from the poor to the rich as immigrants are willing to work for lower wages than native-born Americans." Like so many "well known" economic notions, this smacks of an abstract deductive model, which is a basic tool of economic analysis, yet must be tested against reality in each practical case.

Such a case was offered by the Mariel boatlift of 1980, when Castro allowed some 125,000 Cubans to leave the country. Of those who fled, about half settled in or around Miami, raising the labor force of the city by 7 percent. Where the abstract model of academic economics had it that the Marielitos would take jobs from blacks and depress their wages, Prof. David Card of UC-Berkeley showed that the contrary had happened.

The sudden infusion of labor afforded Professor Card what he called a "natural experiment." He checked what had happened in Miami against four "control cities" with large black populations and stable labor markets. Other economists jumped in to examine other "natural experiments," and found like results.

Whether Mr. O'Sullivan's model will prove true we can't yet say, and it will depend partly on elements such as progress or stagnation in education and religion, which are unquantifiable for the most part and can be tested only by history. The imperative point is to distrust theory until the character and culture of the people involved in each case are factored in, and their role revealed by history.

Patrick G. D. Riley
Wauwatosa, Wis.

THE NUCLEAR OPTION

I was quite surprised that Jim Manzi's article on global warming ("Game Plan," June 25) totally overlooked the best alternative for clean power generation. I refer, of course, to nuclear power plants, which

have zero CO₂ emissions. Although it may not be generally realized, approximately 20 percent of our electric power comes from this source. The French are out in front of the rest of the world in this regard, generating some 78 percent of theirs with uranium. There are currently over 60 nuclear power plants under construction or in the planning stages throughout the world.

Nuclear-power-generation technology has been improved considerably over the years, and is the only emission-free alternative capable of supplying the world's growing appetite for power.

Roger P. Scott
Callaway, Va.

COUNT HIM SKEPTICAL

Per Mr. Manzi's alarming piece on global warming: It is no longer possible, scientifically or politically, to deny that termite activities have very likely increased global temperatures; what remains in dispute is the precise magnitude of the termites' impact. Conservatives should accept this reality—and move on to the question of

what we should do about it, breathlessly. Right after deciding what to do about Islamic jihad, nuclear proliferation, illegal immigration, health care, education, energy dependence, Russian and Chinese intrigues, the judiciary, public manners, federalism, AIDS, patent rights, anti-satellite technology, human cloning . . . (yawn).

Carl Dorsch
Cincinnati, Ohio



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Creating a CLIMATE of ENERGY INDEPENDENCE.

“LET NO DEBT REMAIN OUTSTANDING, EXCEPT THE CONTINUING DEBT TO LOVE ONE ANOTHER, FOR HE WHO LOVES HIS FELLOWMAN HAS FULFILLED THE LAW.”—ROMANS 13:8

As American Christians we believe there is nothing more important to our long-term security as a nation than ending our dependence on foreign oil. This reliance makes us subject to undemocratic, despotic foreign nations that restrict the religious freedom of their peoples, threaten the stability of democratic allies such as Israel, and constrain our ability to speak with moral authority and power on human rights and religious freedom.

We are in favor of climate policies that reduce our dependence on foreign oil (e.g. increasing fuel economy), enhance our energy security, and

embolden our advocacy of religious freedom and human rights. In addition, a robust climate policy that increases our use of renewable energies like solar, wind, and biofuels will be a lifeline for struggling rural economies and will stabilize the economic outlook for family farms.

Creating a climate that reduces the use of fossil fuels is not only good for our environment; it's also good for our national security. That's a wise choice for all of us.

For more information and to read our *Principles for Federal Policy on Climate Change* see www.Christiansandclimate.org.



THE EVANGELICAL CLIMATE INITIATIVE

WORSHIP GOD. CARE FOR HIS CREATION.

THE WEEK

■ Hillary Clinton's strongest supporters, her consultants say, are "women with needs." She can ask Bill how to court them.

■ Washington is whipping itself into a preemptive panic over a September progress report on the Iraq War. Republicans seem primed to abandon President Bush unless the much-anticipated report by Gen. David Petraeus and Amb. Ryan Crocker shows significant progress—and maybe even if it does. We already know two things about that September report: 1) Iraq will look different from its present condition. The situation is very fluid, as shown by the fact that the center of the Sunni insurgency has moved from the notorious Anbar Province to Diyala Province. The Sunni tribes have flipped against al-Qaeda in Anbar, making for an extraordinary turnaround in an area that was considered lost not long ago and scattering insurgents to Diyala (where we are now engaging them in a major battle). 2) Whatever progress has been made in Iraq, the picture will still be mixed. A country that has been riven by vicious sectarian fighting and is beset by competing violent extremists is not going to be stabilized two or three months from now. That's why arbitrary deadlines for the surge and for our military engagement make no sense, whether they are *de jure* or *de facto*.

■ Sen. Barack Obama went after Hillary for her insufficient ardor against outsourcing, citing one of her Indian-American supporters, who said that she could be the senator from Punjab. We understand that Obama needs to show that he is tough enough to take on the Clintons, and as a general proposition we support toughness on the Clintons. But it would be nice if Democratic politicians were not competing to be tough on our allies.

■ The governor of California put *el gato* among *las palomas* at the annual convention of the National Association of Hispanic Journalists the other day. Schwarzenegger urged Spanish-speaking immigrants to shun Spanish-language media. "You've got to turn off the Spanish television set," he said. "It's that simple. You've got to learn English. . . . [When] I came to this country, I very rarely spoke German to anyone." Well, there was barely anyone for you to speak German *to*, governor. It's not a major language in California. Spanish is, and its use is actually encouraged for lazy commercial and low political reasons. Businesses preferentially hire Spanish-speakers to deal with monolingual Hispanic customers; politicians, dubiously, give public addresses in Spanish. Every new annual tranche of a quarter million or so new Spanish-speaking immigrants just fortifies the trend. Time to turn off the spigot and get cracking on a real national effort at assimilation.



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■ President Bush says he is "looking forward to vetoing excessive spending." Lucky him: He is going to have several chances to do just that. He has the votes to sustain vetoes of most of the spending bills that are coming his way. If the president holds firm, he should be able to force the Congress to spend less money—and give his supporters a rare policy win.

■ Summertime is here, and with it, the annual spectacle of our representatives in Washington competing to see who can come up with the worst solution to the problem of higher gas prices. This year, Congress has outdone itself. First, the Democrats' bill calls for more federal investigations into oil-company "price gouging," which they take to mean any price for gas that is "unconscionably excessive." Understandably, the Federal Trade Commission has expressed its doubts about federal price-gouging legislation, given that it would have the unenviable task of enforcing this mushy language. The bill would also mandate higher fuel-efficiency standards for cars, which inevitably will cause automakers to make them smaller, lighter—and less safe. Finally, the Democrats are pushing

Ethanol and energy: a growing partnership



How to keep the ethanol market growing

Today, nearly half the gasoline sold in the United States contains ethanol, and the building blocks are now in place to nearly double ethanol's use in the next five years. That's good news, but it's no silver bullet. Corn-based ethanol, even though highly subsidized with tax dollars, can't sustainably meet U.S. energy goals. The diversion of corn to ethanol production is already driving up food prices, and by raising feed costs to cattle, hog and poultry farmers, it is also raising meat, egg and milk prices. So, where do we go from here?

New Technologies

The nation needs to expand research into other potential biofuel sources. For example, cellulosic ethanol, made from plant fiber, is showing considerable promise, although the

technology is not yet available to produce it economically on a commercial scale.

Markets, Not Mandates

We know from past experience that efficient and cost-effective energy is produced best by market-driven demand – not artificial government requirements. Markets and advances in technology, not government mandates, are more likely to produce a sustainable, growing reliance on biofuels.

Join Together

Meeting the nation's energy needs will take cooperation among government, producers and consumers. If we join together and all do our part, we will succeed in diversifying America's energy sources and maintaining our quality of life for generations to come.

THE WEEK...

a measure that would require utilities to generate 15 percent of their power using solar, wind, and other renewable energy sources by 2020. If renewable energy were less expensive and more reliable than non-renewable sources, it wouldn't need Washington's help to compete. Unfortunately, that's not the case, and thus it stands to reason that electricity prices for consumers will go up as a result of this mandate. It's typical of Washington that a bill that purports to reduce the price of energy includes a measure that will make electricity more expensive.

■ You can tell the immigration debate has gotten hot when Linda Chavez, normally the soul of reason, boils over. After getting one too many go-back-where-you-came-from e-mails—Chavez's roots in this country go back to the 18th century—she wrote a column suggesting that opponents of “comprehensive immigration reform” just didn't like Mexicans. After a while, she cooled off. She now concedes that plenty of the critics of the bill are without malice, even if

she disagrees with us. She has retreated to the claim that some of the critics are bigots, and that the rest of the critics should disavow them—an entirely reasonable position, even if she draws the line somewhere other than where we would. Let the debate continue, without the race card.

■ Nancy Pelosi has fallen for two types of stem-cell hype. One is scientific: She believes that embryo-destructive research “is biblical in its power to cure.” The other is political: She apparently believes that this research is so popular that it will sweep all before it. So she scheduled a vote on a bill that would authorize the cloning of human embryos to produce stem cells—and scheduled it in a way that would require it to get two-thirds support from the House. It did not even get a majority. Compounding her embarrassment was the fact that the vote took place the day after a new report suggested that the benefits of stem-cell research could be achieved by “reprogramming” adult skin cells rather than by cloning and killing human embryos. More and more, the liberal insistence on sacrificing nascent human life is looking like a primitive faith.

■ The legislature in newly blue New Hampshire has voted to repeal its law mandating parental notification when minors

Workaholics

WHILE these pages have been critical of Europe's massive welfare states in the past, one must concede that Europeans have vastly superior cocktail parties. The potables tend to weigh in their favor, but the conversation does as well: Work is hardly ever mentioned.

Go to an American cocktail party, and you are bound to be queried endlessly about your employment. Americans need to identify one another's jobs, as if knowing a man's occupation reveals everything about him.

Americans are obsessed with work—a conclusion made evident by data. Erik Hurst and Mark Aguiar, two economists with the National Bureau of Economic Research, recently used five decades' worth of surveys to measure trends in American time use. They found that the time the average American dedicates to leisure activities increased 6.75 hours per week over four decades, between 1965 and 2003.

Almost all of that increased leisure time, however, came from a reduction in time spent working at home. Back in the 1960s, chores like dishwashing took hours out of every week. Now we all have dishwashers. Time spent on the job declined only a smidgen.

Our steady commitment to work is a bit of a surprise if you think our appetite for leisure should have grown in tandem with our wealth. But our preoccupation, so to speak, with work is even more startling if you compare us with workers in other countries.

The accompanying chart indicates the average number of vacation days that are allocated to workers for a sample of countries. On average, the Italians, French, and Germans have about three times more vacation days than Americans. The

Japanese may have a reputation for diligence, but they are economic libertines compared with the Americans.

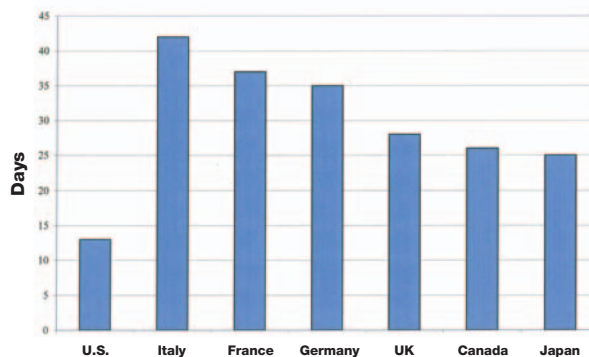
If one looks at the number of those vacation days that are actually used, the story gets even worse. Expedia.com's 2007 International Vacation Deprivation Survey found that Americans, on average, leave about three vacation days unused in a typical year—again, more than any other country.

Even though Americans have the fewest vacation days, they leave the most on the table. Which is unfortunate, since a summer vacation restores the spirit and, studies show, increases job satisfaction (and perhaps productivity) when one returns.

Let's each do our part to improve the mental health of America's workforce. Head directly to the beach—economist's orders.

—KEVIN A. HASSETT

Average Annual Number of Vacation Days per Person



SOURCE: WORLD TOURISM ORGANIZATION

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In the new issue of the Hoover Digest . . .

“Hybrid” Conservatives Are Learning to Adapt

Candidates who balance tradition and innovation are today's dominant species

Consider Rudy Giuliani—the thrice-married, twice-divorced, pro-choice, civil-union-supporting blue-state former mayor who appears to be the GOP front-runner, pacing even likely Democratic presidential challengers. Is conservatism about to remake itself by reclaiming the center of American politics? Or is it about to collapse from its internal contradictions?

Remember that all the leading conservative candidates are, in a sense, political hybrids, as is President Bush. They inherit Edmund Burke's respect for both liberty and tradition but also his awareness that preserving liberty requires “prudent innovation” amid the turbulence of political life. Modern conservatism embodies this built-in instability. Private versus government aid, the church-state balance, whether to try to spread democracy, how to handle social touchstones like abortion—candidates ponder a wide menu. How they choose will invigorate both American conservatism and the nation as a whole.

—Peter Berkowitz

Hurricane Hugo, a Storm of Disinformation

It was Bush vs. Chávez in the battle for Latin American loyalties. Who won?

What a spectacle it was to see the Venezuelan president chasing the U.S. president up the length of Latin America, from Buenos Aires to Port-au-Prince, shouting challenges and insults at the American leader and “empire.” Gilbert and Sullivan could have turned this indirect combat between the hemisphere's two most self-consciously macho presidents into a smashing comic opera.

But the clash illuminated differences in both style and substance. Chávez and his oil-fueled “twenty-first-century socialism” are just corked wine in a new bottle. The essence of this newfangled old-fashioned caudillo is an aggressive, globalized rehash of the kind of paternalism that caused and sustained the underdevelopment of Latin America—the most unequal region on earth. What Latins need now is the exact opposite of Chavista authoritarianism: free trade and markets, pluralism, an end to scapegoating. And the United States, if it surmounts its regional mistakes, can help nurture that productive alternative.

—William Ratliff

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have abortions. Most people, including many people who favor legal abortion, support parental notification. But the Democrats of New Hampshire have said that the current law only invites legal challenges and that they support weaker versions of notification. It is a dismaying vote. The normal standards for minors—which govern everything from tattoos to ear piercing to aspirin in school nurses’ offices—are being waived to promote abortion. The Democrats say they are “pro-choice”: But again and again, abortion is the choice that they’re pro-.

■ Legislators in Massachusetts voted not to hold a referendum on same-sex marriage, on the nonsensical theory that “you don’t put civil rights up for a vote.” Same-sex marriage was imposed on the state by a vote of seven judges. The public did not oppose this redefinition of marriage forcefully enough to reverse that decision. Supporters of same-sex marriage are now saying that the legislature’s vote shows that their policy has democratic legitimacy—which is another way of saying that judicial activism isn’t judicial activism when it’s successful.



■ The mills of justice grind slow, but they grind exceedingly small. Latest to learn this has been Mike Nifong, district attorney in Durham, N.C. Nifong’s prosecution of three Duke University lacrosse players went on for ten months, until the state attorney general’s office took over the case in January, quickly dismissing all charges. The lacrosse players,

all white, had been accused of raping a black stripper at a party in March 2006. It soon became apparent that there was no real evidence in the case, but Nifong pressed ahead anyway, in a transparent effort to garner black votes by harpooning three Great White Defendants. Now the state bar’s disciplinary committee has stripped Nifong of his law license for leading “a clear case of intentional prosecutorial misconduct” involving “dishonesty, fraud, deceit, and misrepresentation.” The ugly paradox here is that Nifong’s vendetta, widely supported by black North Carolinians for reasons of ethnic solidarity (i.e., with the stripper), has highlighted the frightening power district attorneys can wield when they choose. In North Carolina and elsewhere, the victims of that power are mostly not affluent and educated, like the Duke lacrosse players, but poor and clueless. In all likelihood, they are disproportionately black.

■ Enemies captured in the course of war are not common criminals: This is a distinction made by custom older than the United States, and for good reasons. Combatants are held

until a conflict is over so they cannot rejoin their forces; if they are put on trial at all, it is before military judges, without the trappings of discovery that would allow intelligence to pass to the detainee and his confreres. The same rules should govern the War on Terror, which is a real, congressionally approved war, and not a mere slogan. It is, of course, an asymmetrical war: Our enemy does not fight as a uniformed army, and his most potent weapon is the jihadist disguised as a civilian. Ali Saleh Kahlal al-Marri is just such a weapon: A native of Qatar, he took orders from Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, traveled to the United States some time before 9/11, and was planning follow-up attacks when caught. Now, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals has ruled that he cannot lawfully be detained as an enemy combatant. The judges are jarringly out of step with the time in which they live. By their lights, even 9/11 ringleader Mohamed Atta would not be considered a combatant. Al-Marri must not be allowed to go free, and the government should not be obliged to divulge its intelligence in a public courtroom. This ruling must be appealed, and reversed.

■ Sen. Harry Reid, former amateur boxer, recently threw a few punches at Marine general Peter Pace, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and Gen. David Petraeus, the commander of multinational forces in Iraq. According to Reid, who declared months ago from 5,000 miles away in Washington that the war in Iraq is “lost,” Petraeus “isn’t in touch with what’s going on Baghdad.” General Petraeus has served for 33 years, wrote the Army’s manual on counterinsurgency, and has spent almost two and a half years in Iraq. In a braggadocio session with left-wing bloggers, Reid recounted how he supposedly dressed down General Pace during a private meeting: “I told him to his face, I laid it out to him last time he came to see me, I told him what an incompetent man I thought he was.” In trash-talking the widely admired military leaders, Reid is attempting to fight well above his weight class. And to anyone who actually believes that the bantamweight Democratic leader insulted General Pace to his face, we say: Tell it to the Marines.

■ Suppose a country funds, arms, and trains on its soil a force to infiltrate and destabilize its neighbor with a campaign of ethnic cleansing. Would you call that an act of war? Sensible people, of course, would. But American politicians have

LIEBERMAN’S LOGIC

*On the bleak Iraqi border,
There’s a certain spot
Where the Persians slither over—
To be frank, a lot.
Lieberman, who turned Pelosi
Apple-green and Reid
Sickly mauve, suggests we bomb the
Bastards as they feed.*

—W. H. VON DREELE

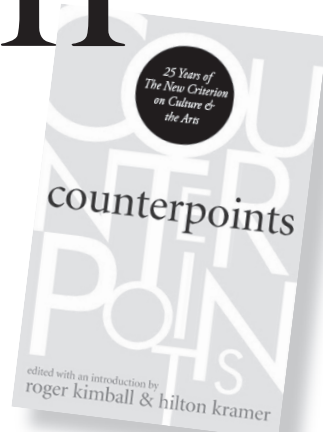


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THE WEEK...

resisted calling Iran's material support for Shiite terrorist groups exactly what it is: an act of war against Iraq, and the United States. Following a trip to Baghdad, Sen. Joseph Lieberman broke this silence, saying during a *Face the Nation* appearance, "I think we've got to be prepared to take aggressive military action against Iranians to stop them from killing Americans in Iraq." Democrats' "netroots" worked themselves into a predictable frenzy. Wesley Clark derided Lieberman's "saber rattling." And Harry Reid condescended—"I know Joe means well"—before arguing that the proper response to these acts of war is diplomacy. Diplomacy, of course, has been a repeated failure with Iran. Four years after Iran's nuclear program was farmed out to European diplomats, we have nothing to show for it. And we have already talked directly to the Iranians—breaking three decades of policy—about their stoking of mayhem in Iraq. It is naïve to think diplomacy will bear fruit now, especially when the "see no evil" posture on Iran allows it to pay no price for underwriting violence in Iraq.



■ President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan is weathering a political crisis after he suspended the chief justice of the supreme court for transparently trumped-up reasons. It is bruited about that Musharraf may suffer an ouster like that of the shah of Iran, and some suggest we dump the general for a civil

ian government. But, as Daniel Markey argues in a persuasive piece in *Foreign Affairs*, the military is the strongest institution in the country and will inevitably have an outsized say in how it is governed, Musharraf or no. In the context of chronically misruled Pakistan, the modernizing Musharraf is a net asset, although far from ideal. Markey suggests avoiding public rebukes such as sanctions and working to improve India-Pakistan relations to ease the military's fears, while standing firm on fundamental human rights and the rule of law. Our policy on Musharraf himself should be to "hold tight to nurse / for fear of something worse."

■ When Ronald Reagan proposed sharing missile-defense technology with the Soviet Union in 1986, Mikhail Gorbachev scoffed at the idea. More than 20 years later, however, Russian president Vladimir Putin is showing more interest—or so it would seem, based on his surprise suggestion that the United States incorporate a Russian radar in Azerbaijan into a missile-defense system whose main purpose is to protect NATO countries from an Iranian nuclear threat. If Putin hoped that his proposal would persuade the Bush administration to

EDITOR'S NOTE: The next issue of NATIONAL REVIEW will appear in three weeks.

step back from building our own radar in the Czech Republic and basing ten interceptors in Poland, then he badly miscalculated: Defense secretary Robert Gates has made clear that these plans will proceed. Russian cooperation in a missile-defense system would in fact be welcome, especially if the Russians finally have decided that the ayatollahs pose a geopolitical threat to the civilized world, themselves included—in which case Moscow might take helpful diplomatic steps right now and suspend all nuclear cooperation with Iran, sever some of its commercial ties, and support tougher sanctions at the United Nations. Let's hope they get around to it before another two decades pass.

■ In a statement released on June 4, Speaker Nancy Pelosi commemorated the 18th anniversary of the protest and massacre at Tiananmen Square. Pelosi called the anniversary an opportunity not only to remember the protesters, but to "reaffirm our commitment to the principles of freedom and democracy of which they dreamed." She reminded us of the consistently deplorable state of human rights in



China, and pointed to evidence of new efforts on the part of the regime to curtail peaceful demonstrations in advance of the 2008 Olympics (which will be in Beijing). Pelosi, who represents San Francisco, which has a significant Chinese-American population, has a history of interest and involvement in China. In 1991, she protested in Tiananmen Square itself. If only she were as valiant on human rights elsewhere in the world—in Syria, for example. Still, we commend her for trying to keep Tiananmen alive in the collective memory.

■ On June 12, the Victims of Communism Memorial was formally dedicated in Washington, D.C., to honor the 100 million people who are estimated to have died at the hands of a savage ideology. Located on Massachusetts Avenue, and with a clear view of the Capitol dome, the memorial is a welcome addition to the city's commemorative landscape. Its centerpiece is a bronze statue based on the "goddess of democracy" built by the martyred Chinese students at Tiananmen. President Bush gave a speech that not only looked to the past but also, with hope, to the future: "By remaining steadfast in freedom's cause, we will ensure that a future American president does not have to stand in a place like this and dedicate a memorial to the millions killed by the radicals and extremists of the 21st century."

■ A spokesman for Fatah accused Hamas militiamen of looting Yasser Arafat's Gaza City home and stealing his Nobel Peace Prize medal. If found, please return to the Palestinian Authority, the Norwegian *Storting*, or your local dynamite manufacturer, whoever is the last man standing.

■ George W. Bush received a hero's welcome during an eight-hour stop in Albania, which the American media noted with amusement, mixed with scorn (Eugene Robinson of the *Washington Post* called it a "reverse-Borat moment"). Some of

Black Listed Cancer Treatment Could Save Your Life

Baltimore, MD— As unbelievable as it seems the key to stopping many cancers has been around for over 30 years. Yet it has been banned. Blocked. And kept out of your medicine cabinet by the very agency designed to protect your health—the FDA.

In 1966, the senior oncologist at a prominent New York hospital rocked the medical world when he developed a serum that “**shrank cancer tumors in 45 minutes!**” 90 minutes later they were gone... Headlines hit every major paper around the world. Scientists and researchers applauded. Time and again this life saving treatment worked miracles, but the FDA ignored the research and hope he brought and shut him down.

You read that right. He was not only shut down—but also forced out of the country where others benefited from his discovery. That was 39 years ago. How many other treatments have they been allowed to hide? Just as in the case of Dr. Burton’s miracle serum these too go unmentioned.

Two-Nutrient Cancer Breakthrough...

Decades ago, European research scientist Dr. Johanna Budwig, a six-time Nobel Award nominee, discovered a totally natural formula that not only protects against the development of cancer, but people all over the world who have been diagnosed with incurable cancer and sent home to die have actually benefited from her research—and now lead normal lives.

After 30 years of study, Dr. Budwig discovered that the blood of seriously ill cancer patients was deficient in certain substances and nutrients. Yet, healthy blood always contained these ingredients. It was the lack of these nutrients that allowed cancer cells to grow wild and out of control.

By simply eating a combination of two natural and delicious foods (found on page 134) not only can cancer be prevented—but in case after case it was actually healed! “Symptoms of cancer, liver dysfunction, and diabetes were completely alleviated.” Remarkably, what Dr. Budwig discovered was a totally natural way for eradicating cancer.

However, when she went to publish these results so that everyone could benefit—**she was blocked by manufacturers with heavy financial stakes!** For over 10 years now her methods have proved effective—yet she is denied publication—blocked by the giants who don’t want you to read her words.

What’s more, the world is full of expert minds like Dr. Budwig who have pursued

cancer remedies and come up with remarkable natural formulas and diets that work for hundreds and thousands of patients. *How to Fight Cancer & Win* author William Fischer has studied these methods and revealed their secrets for you—so that you or someone you love may be spared the horrors of conventional cancer treatments.

As early as 1947, Virginia Livingston, M.D., isolated a cancer-causing microbe. She noted that every cancer sample analyzed (whether human or other animal) contained it.

Six-time Nobel Nominee’s Two-Nutrient Cancer Breakthrough Revealed

This microbe—a bacteria that is actually in each of us from birth to death—multiplies and promotes cancer when the immune system is weakened by disease, stress, or poor nutrition. Worst of all, the microbes secrete a special hormone protector that short-circuits our body’s immune system—allowing the microbes to grow undetected for years. No wonder so many patients are riddled with cancer by the time it is detected. But there is hope even for them...

Turn to page 82 of *How to Fight Cancer & Win* for the delicious diet that can help stop the formation of cancer cells and shrink tumors.

They walked away from traditional cancer treatments...and were healed! Throughout the pages of *How to Fight Cancer & Win* you’ll meet real people who were diagnosed with cancer—suffered through harsh conventional treatments—turned their backs on so called modern medicine—only to be miraculously healed by natural means! Here is just a sampling of what others have to say about the book.

“I bought *How to Fight Cancer & Win* and this has to be the greatest book I’ve ever read. I have had astounding results from the easy to understand knowledge found in this book. My whole life has improved drastically and I have done so much for many others. The information goes far beyond the health thinking of today.”

—Hugh M.

“I can’t find adequate words to describe my appreciation of your work in providing *How to Fight Cancer & Win*. You had to do an enormous amount of research to bring this vast and most important knowledge to your readers.

My doctor found two tumors on my

prostate with a high P.S.A. He scheduled a time to surgically remove the prostate, but I canceled the appointment. Instead I went on the diet discussed in the book combined with another supplement. Over the months my P.S.A. has lowered until the last reading was one point two.”

—Duncan M.

“In my 55 years as a Country Family Physician, I have never read a more ‘down to earth,’ practical resume of cancer prevention and treatments, than in this book. It needs to be studied worldwide for the prevention of cancer by all researchers who are looking for a cure.”

—Edward S., M.D.

“As a cancer patient who has been battling lymphatic cancer on and off for almost three years now, I was very pleased to stumble across *How to Fight Cancer & Win*. The book was inspiring, well-written and packed with useful information for any cancer patient looking to maximize his or her chances for recovery.”

—Romany S.

“I’ve been incorporating Dr. Budwig’s natural remedy into my diet and have told others about it. Your book is very informative and has information I’ve never heard about before (and I’ve read many books on the cancer and nutrition link). Thanks for the wonderful information.”

—Molly G.

Don’t waste another minute. Claim your book today and you will be one of the lucky few who no longer have to wait for cures that get pushed “underground” by big business and money hungry giants.

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THE WEEK...

the enthusiasm is a gift of history: Bush benefits from fond memories of Woodrow Wilson, who supported Albanian independence in 1913. But Albanians also feel warmly toward him because history has taught them hard lessons. The Communist regime of Enver Hoxha was one of the most crazed and benighted in the world, a peer of the Kims' North Korea. As they once suffered, so they admire the alternative. Eastern Europeans are generally fonder of America, and a forthright partisan of freedom like Bush, than are western Europeans—or liberal Americans. Albanians are fondest of all. President Bush should wear their affection as a badge of honor.

■ The trouble with the practices of rational, consensual government—as Wordsworth pointed out when he referred to them as “the meagre, stale, forbidding ways / Of custom, law, and statute”—is that they are not very romantic. Revolution, by contrast, is romantic as all get-out, or at any rate can easily be made to seem so. One of the great icons of revolutionary romanticism in our own age has been the Argentinian Communist Che

Guevara. A ruthless psychopath who served as one of Fidel Castro's lieutenants in the takeover of Cuba, Guevara was conspicuous even among revolutionaries for his cruelty, inhumanity, and love of killing. Yet Guevara is still a romantic hero to many, that absurd image of him in beard and beret still a staple of pop art. We have recently seen a photograph of Britain's



Prince Harry (the same one who got in trouble for wearing a swastika armband to a costume party a couple of years ago) wearing a Guevara T-shirt. Whoever is advising the prince should acquaint him with the fate of the French royal family in that earlier revolution, the one that so excited the youthful Wordsworth, to the poet's later regret.

■ NASA administrator Michael Griffin recently caused an uproar when he told NPR that, although he has no doubt that global warming exists, he felt that NASA's role was solely to research climate change, and was “not sure that it is fair to say that it is a problem we must wrestle with.” The usual suspects from the frontlines of the global-warming-catastrophe movement reacted as might be expected, with prominent scientist and global-warming agitator James Hansen calling Griffin's remarks “ignorant” and the environmental magazine *Grist* labeling his statements “extraordinarily stupid.” All this comes as a result not of denying global warming, but of questioning whether it truly poses an existential threat, and having the gall to suggest that it might be more appropriate for NASA—a scientific organization—to study global warming than to “battle” it. It's more than a little absurd when the top figure at NASA gets blasted as ignorant for calling for a bit of global-warming calm while Sheryl Crow and Laurie David are held up as trusted voices on the issue.

■ U.N. secretary general Ban Ki-moon argued, in the *Washington Post*, that the 200,000-person body count in Darfur

“derives . . . from man-made global warming.” Well of course it does. And what about poverty, AIDS, and child pornography? Surely global warming played a role in those, too?

■ The “Hillary for President” website (prop. H. Rodham Clinton) has been seeking a campaign song for the former First Lady. One of our own editors offered a modest submission based on a familiar hymn tune: “Onward Clinton soldiers / Don't talk about the war. / The only thing to fear is / A challenge from Al Gore . . .” etc. This well-meant effort has apparently not been heeded. Mrs. Clinton seems, in fact, to have spurned amateur contributions altogether and—surprise!—gone with the showbiz professionals. Pop star Celine Dion's 2004 number “You and I” has been declared the official Clinton campaign song. The song formerly did duty in TV commercials for Air Canada, its lyrics being apt: “Sailing like a bird high on the wings of love / Take me higher than all the stars above . . .” Given the recent lawsuit by shareholders of a company alleged to have spent corporate funds flying Mrs. Clinton around the country to political events—the company's CEO is an FOH—you might think the choice of campaign song could prove embarrassing to the Clinton people. However, as a different pop singer (Mick Jagger) remarked of a different crowd (pop stars who trash hotel rooms): “They don't embarrass easy.”



■ A lot of people still think of *Time* as a news magazine, as opposed to the more opinionated variety like *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, or *NATIONAL REVIEW*. A perusal of its recent cover stories proves otherwise. Its most recent cover as of press time featured New York mayor Michael Bloomberg and California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger as “the new action heroes . . . doing big things that Washington has failed to do.” What “big things”? How about banning trans-fats (Bloomberg), using tax dollars to fund embryo-destroying stem-cell research (Schwarzenegger), and pushing for economically burdensome caps on carbon emissions (both)? No wonder *Time* considers these men heroes; a *Time* cover last year warned readers to “Be worried. Be very worried” about global warming, and number 5 on its April list of “51 things we can do to save the environment” was “Pay the carbon tax.” *Time* recently ran a cover story titled, “Why amnesty [for illegal immigrants] makes sense,” and its editors decided to leave President Bush off its list of the 100 Most Influential People. Sad to see *Time* going in this direction. The country does not lack for liberal opinion magazines.

■ Together, the *Godfather* novels and movies and *The Sopranos* bracket almost 40 years of a pop-culture love affair with the mob. The first all-American icon, from James Fenimore Cooper to John Wayne, was the frontiersman. The West moved west, from upstate New York to Monument Valley; sometimes the hero wore a sheriff's star, sometimes not. But he was the good man, doing the right thing in a violent world. As the frontier vanished, he was joined by an urban twin, the detective. Mean

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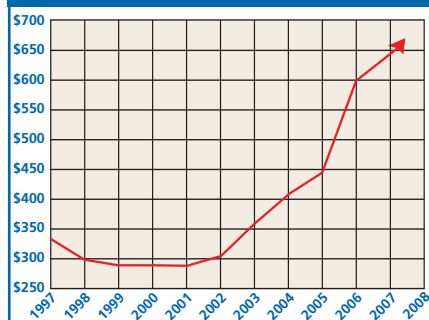
The National Debt is growing at approximately \$1.5 billion per day, approaching \$9 trillion in total. The U.S. continues to run huge trade deficits. Economic growth in the U.S. is slowing relative to many other parts of the world. These things are driving down the value of the dollar and driving up the value of gold. The price of gold has increased by more than 130% in the last five years.

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THE WEEK...

streets replaced mean mesas, but the story was the same. Suddenly, in the late 20th century, we fell for criminal families. Was it national depression? National honesty? Nostalgia for clans? The hostess gift of assimilating Italian-Americans? There will be a lot for cultural critics to say, and some of it will be interesting. Meanwhile, we plan not to fade to black, thanks.

■ The Rev. Ann Holmes Redding, an Episcopal priest in Seattle, says she is simultaneously a Muslim. She was ordained as a priest in 1984, and became a Muslim last year. Her bishop approves, as does the leader of the Islamic center she prays with. “I pray not to cause scandal or bring shame upon either of my traditions,” she says. American religious liberty allows Redding to be anything she likes. But “traditions” are not so elastic. If we have to pick favorite Anglicans, we will stick with Bishop Latimer: “Play the man, Master Ridley; we shall this day light such a candle, by God’s grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out.”

■ Skull and Bones is one of Yale’s secret societies: freemasonry for kids, dating back to the 19th century. The Bushes and John Kerry are Bonesmen, as is the founder of this magazine. It has long been a campus legend that the society owns the bones of the Apache leader Geronimo (d. 1909). Now Harlyn Geronimo, a great-grandson, wants the bones returned to him for burial. Ethnics worldwide have laid claim to relics and art objects with a zeal that, if successful, would hobble scientific research and empty museums; American Indians tried to repossess Kennewick Man, a 9,300-year-old skeleton discovered in Washington State, and Melina Mercouri campaigned for years to strip the Elgin Marbles from the British Museum. But a student society is not a scholarly or aesthetic enterprise. If the bones exist, and if tests establish a relationship, then Mr. Geronimo should be given the remains of Mr. Geronimo Sr.

■ Poor Pluto! Stripped of its status as a planet by the International Astronomical Union last August, it has now been further demoted. Investigations by two Caltech astronomers, reported in a recent issue of *Science*, demonstrate that the more remote body named Eris, discovered in 2005, is more massive than Pluto, so that those reactionaries who persist in thinking of Pluto as a planet must count Eris as one, too. Since Eris is merely one among numberless objects in the trans-Plutonian zone known as the Kuiper belt, no doubt there will be further insults to the dignity of Pluto, and to those patriots who long cherished Pluto as the only planet in our solar system to have been discovered by an American (Clyde Tombaugh, in 1930). It is now clear that this solar system contains, in the words of astronomy writer Stephen Eales, “eight planets and two belts of builder’s rubble left over from [its] formation 4.5 billion years ago.” From planet to “dwarf planet” was bad enough, but “builder’s rubble”? Oh dear.

■ Millions of American children knew Don Herbert as Mr. Wizard, a TV regular from the 1950s even unto the 1980s.

Herbert was a bomber pilot in WWII and a small-time actor before developing his first TV show, *Watch Mr. Wizard*, which ran from 1951 to 1965. The set-up was simple. He and a couple of child assistants would perform experiments with household objects, explaining and exploring the laws of science. It was something like Mr. Rogers meets Mr. Feynman. Mr. Wizard demystified the wonders of the natural world without depriving them of an essential magic. For that, and for his role in creating generations of American scientists, we are ever grateful. Don Herbert died at 89. R.I.P.

■ Kurt Waldheim led an archetypal life. David Pryce-Jones gives the details (see p. 30). Here we stress the shape. Wherever Waldheim found himself—cheek by jowl with killing fields and deportation trains, snug in a ministry or U.N. office, rallying the jobs on the Austrian hustings—he fit in. He was Nazi, neutralist, internationalist, and populist by turns. In 1986 NR wrote that Waldheim was “so thick-skinned that he does not need a backbone to stand erect.” Looking back on his long life from the end of it, one is also struck by his resemblance to Belial, who, in Book II of *Paradise Lost*, advised the rebel angels to make themselves at home in Hell: “This horror will grow mild, this darkness light . . .” Touchy, obsequious, ambitious, empty, immoral, he is dead, age 88. R.I.P.

PUBLIC POLICY

Fool Me Twice

PRESIDENT BUSH is working hard to revive his immigration bill. The status quo over which he has presided for six years is, he now says, “unacceptable.” But the bill he supports, though it is labeled “comprehensive immigration reform,” is really more of the same: an immediate amnesty coupled with promises of tougher enforcement in the future.

Supporters of the bill are trying to win votes by saying that they really, really mean those promises this time. One idea being discussed is an emergency spending bill to fund enhanced border security and to help states pay for the secure identity cards that the federal government has required them to develop. Additional spending does not, however, guarantee effective enforcement. Until we see that enforcement taking place—and see the government standing up to the interests that will squeal when it does—we should not contemplate providing an amnesty.

Another tactic that has been proposed is to require illegal immigrants to go to their home countries, or a foreign consulate, before they can apply for a Z visa. No critic of the bill should be mollified by this pointless gesture. The bill provides “probationary” legal status to illegal immigrants nearly immediately, before any Z visa applications have to be filled out. A government that considers enforcing the law against illegal immigrants too draconian is not going to revoke this legal status.

The laws are not going to be enforced at all if they are not enforced first. An enforcement-first strategy requires throwing out this bill and starting over.

The Lesser Evil

THE news that Hamas has murdered its way to power over Fatah in Gaza could hardly be worse. At the street level, the violence is dreadful. Hostages are taken and shot. Handcuffed men, rightly or wrongly accused of belonging to Fatah, are thrown off high buildings. Looting is widespread, as Hamas lays hands on Fatah property and foreign bank accounts. A good many frightened families would escape from this circle of hell to Israel if they could, and many more have fled to the West Bank, where for the time being they are under the rule of Fatah, and so beyond the reach of Hamas.

Fatah is the creation and legacy of Yasser Arafat, reflecting all his faults of corruption and duplicity. Under him, however, Fatah was a nationalist movement expressing at least an outward interest in creating a Palestinian state alongside Israel. Arafat's successor, Mahmoud Abbas, has so far proved unable or unwilling to put an end to the corruption and duplicity, or to make the compromises required for a Palestinian state to come into existence. He has only himself to blame that Hamas could truthfully call his Fatah administration a failure, win an election, and be in a position to stage its coup.

Hamas is an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood, and its solution to everything is therefore the Islamization of Palestinian society. Far from a solution, this is fracturing Palestinians even further. Gaza under Hamas will have enforcers of Islamic law and custom, while the West Bank remains secular. Nor is this divide the end of it. According to its Islamist doctrine, Hamas has the religious duty of eliminating Israel, and as a matter of faith believes that this is a realistic option. Negotiations—a two-state solution that would involve acceptance of Israel—are specifically excluded. Just over the horizon, Iran and Syria are striving for regional supremacy, unscrupulously arranging for Hamas to fight battles on their behalf.

The extension of the Hamas coup into the West Bank, thus supplanting Fatah as the ruling authority there, would transform the current crisis into immediate disaster for the whole Middle East. The West Bank is presently holding out like a redoubt, and the United States, Israel, Jordan, and all secular Arabs have a shared interest that it continue to do so. Support for Abbas is hardly inviting but it is the best available option, possibly the sole available option except war. Abbas and Fatah have to be enabled to survive in authority for as long as it takes the unfortunate Palestinians to realize that Hamas and Islamization are certain to make their lives unlivable.

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behalf.*

Against Universal Coverage

THE Democrats running for president are competing over whose health-care plan gets closest to “universal coverage.” The Republican presidential candidates, meanwhile, have been mostly silent. Their inattention to the issue is a mistake. A great many voters are anxious about health care, and better government policies could alleviate that anxiety. The Republican candidates have an opportunity to present a distinctively conservative set of reforms.

Those reforms should begin with the rejection of the goal of universal coverage. Deregulating health insurance would make it more affordable, and thus increase the number of Americans with coverage. But to achieve universal coverage would require either having the government provide it to everyone or forcing everyone to buy it. The first option, national health insurance in some form or other, would either bust the budget or cripple medical innovation, and possibly have both effects. Mandatory health insurance, meanwhile, would entail a governmental definition of a minimum package of benefits that insurance has to cover. Over time, that minimum package would grow more and more expensive as provider groups lobbied the government to include their services in the mandate.

The health-care debate has centered on the uninsured. That so many people do not have health insurance is a consequence of foolish government policies: regulations that raise the price of insurance, and a tax code that ensures that most people get their insurance through their employer. If you don't work for a company that provides health insurance, you're out of luck. People locked out of the insurance system still have access to health care. But they often end up in emergency rooms because they did not receive preventive care.

For most people, however, it is another aspect of our employer-based health-care system that causes the most trouble: the insecurity it creates. People worry that if they switch jobs, they will lose their health insurance. They worry that their company will cut back on health benefits. Universal coverage is not necessary to address these worries. Making it possible for individuals to own their health-insurance policies themselves, rather than getting them through their companies, would solve the problem. It would also reduce the political momentum behind socialized medicine.

Most universal-coverage plans accept the least rational features of our health-care system—its reliance on employer-based coverage and on “insurance” that covers routine expenses—and merely try to expand that system to cover more people. Republicans should go in a different direction, proposing market reforms that make insurance more affordable and portable. If such reforms are implemented, more people will have insurance.

Some people, especially young and healthy people, may choose not to buy health insurance even when it is cheaper. Contrary to popular belief, such people do not cause everyone else to pay much higher premiums. Forcing them to get insurance would, on the other hand, lead to a worse health-care system for everyone because it would necessitate so much more government intervention. So what should the government do about the holdouts? Leave them alone. It's a free country.



■ COVER STORY ■

Animosity and Amnesty

A grand failure

KATE O'BEIRNE

WHEN addressing immigration reform, President Bush repeatedly admonishes, “We need to do this without animosity and without amnesty.” The comprehensive bill he strongly supports and the contentious Senate debate it launched provide both, in abundance. The grand-compromise reform fails his stated desire—and also fails to deliver on its stated promises.

Independent analyses of the bill find it unworkable, and recent Senate votes reveal its phony premises. Under the bill, millions of aliens will remain illegal. According to a recent analysis by the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), 8.4 million of the estimated 12 million illegal aliens can be expected to gain legal status. The remaining 3.6 million illegal aliens would presumably either voluntarily return home, thereby proving that an attri-

tion strategy works, or remain “in the shadows” while attempting to evade the kind of “mass deportation” the bill’s supporters maintain is wholly impractical.

President Bush notes that the 1986 immigration reform failed because “it encouraged more people to come to America illegally.” But if this sweeping reform is enacted, millions more will be coming illegally: CBO estimates that the enforcement and worker-verification provisions of the legislation will reduce the net annual flow of illegal aliens by only 25 percent in the short term, and by only 13 percent over the next 20 years.

Experience suggests that newly legalized aliens encourage illegal immigration on the part of their friends and relatives by providing access to jobs and housing. The 1986 immigration reform granted amnesty to almost 3 million illegal aliens. Over the past 20 years, the number of green cards

for permanent residency has almost doubled and guest-worker programs have been expanded. According to the grand-compromise bill’s theory, these reforms should have reduced the illegal immigration that has dramatically increased in recent years.

Current enforcement loopholes—which the bill fails to address—also contribute to the ongoing illegal-immigration problem. For example, about 40 percent of current illegal aliens overstayed their visas. In 1996, Congress mandated the U.S. VISIT system, a biometric border program that would track entries and exits. Despite the mandate and a scheduled 2005 implementation date, the exit portion of the program has not been implemented. An amendment to the current bill that would have required the full implementation of the system as part of the new reform’s enforcement “triggers” was defeated. Without the program in effect, there is no way to know whether visitors and workers have remained in the country illegally.

The illegal aliens who meet the requirements of the bill and are ushered on a path to citizenship would have “prove[d] themselves worthy of a great land,” according to President Bush. Of course, only aliens who have violated our immigration laws qualify for the amnesty, but even on its own terms the comprehensive reform’s amnesty isn’t limited to the worthy. Sen. John Cornyn proposed an amendment to bar the unworthy from legalization—including known gang members, sex offenders, those convicted of felony identity theft, and felony drunk drivers. Sen. Ted Kennedy objected because the proposal “would exclude hundreds of thousands from the benefits in this bill and undermine the bipartisan compromise that [senators] worked so long and so hard to produce.” The Cornyn amendment was defeated.

The bill provides legal status to millions of aliens, premised on a showing that they have violated our immigration laws, before any improvements in enforcement are made. In a recent speech, President Bush wrongly claimed that “this bill sets clear benchmarks for border security that must be met before other elements of this legislation are triggered.” Within months of the bill’s enactment, millions of illegal aliens will qualify for probationary legal status and Social Security numbers. They

RON EDMONDS/AP

What others are telling Congress about gasoline price controls

Newspapers across America are voicing strong opposition to so-called “anti-price gouging” legislation now before Congress. Read what they have to say:

“**Shortages** and higher prices will come”
– *The Detroit News*, April 30, 2007

“**Empty** legislation”
– *The San Francisco Chronicle*, May 28, 2007

“actually stands to **make matters worse**”
– *USA Today*, May 25, 2007

“silly blasts of **hot air**”
– *The Oklahoman*, May 29, 2007

“a **woeful ignorance** of basic economics”
– *Investor’s Business Daily*, May 24, 2007

“it’s **silly-season** for oil-company bashers”
– *Los Angeles Times*, May 25, 2007

“**grandstanding**”
– *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 25, 2007

“If Congress wants really **high prices**, it should keep this up”
– *The Wall Street Journal*, May 28, 2007

No one condones “price gouging.” While some may think price controls are good politics, the Federal Trade Commission has said that federal price gouging legislation “could cause more problems for consumers than it solves.” Based on the experience of the 1970s - when such controls produced gasoline shortages and long lines at the pump - they are very bad for American consumers.

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CBO estimates that it will take three years to meet the bill's enforcement benchmarks, which would "trigger" the availability of "Z" visas (which would allow the illegals to apply for permanent legal status). Only then would aliens be required to pass a more complete background check. If the "triggers" aren't met, probationary legal status would continue indefinitely.

Although the bill is promoted as a crucial improvement in national security, the millions who will be unaccounted for will be joined by millions of the newly legalized with documents permitting work and travel that rest on a 24-hour review of their identities and backgrounds.

The manifest problems with the bill will be compounded by the well-documented problems with the dysfunctional immigration system expected to deal with its demands. Multiple government studies and recent news accounts depict government agencies unequipped to meet even their current immigration responsibilities.

A February report by the Government Accountability Office (GAO) criticized the Department of Homeland Security for the delays in implementing the U.S. VISIT system. It questions a DHS solution that would rely on new technologies that may or may not be available in the next five to ten years.

Since 2005, according to a recent *Washington Post* account, the backlog of legal immigrants awaiting FBI name checks has doubled to 329,160. A government ombudsman noted that the backlog could prolong "the time a potential criminal or terrorist remains in the country." The FBI receives 1.5 million new names from immigration authorities each year. Millions more would be added to the workload under the immigration bill. In 2002, a policy change caused immigration authorities to re-submit 2.7 million names to

the FBI for added scrutiny; it took five years to complete the reviews.

Last year, the GAO reported that its agents "were able to easily enter the United States from Canada and Mexico using fictitious names and counterfeit driver's licenses and birth certificates" during investigations in 2003 and 2004. In a follow-up investigation in 2006, GAO's agents used fictitious documents with similar ease and—at two border crossings in Texas and Arizona—gained entry into the U.S. without showing any documentation.

Beginning next year, passports will be required for all land and sea travel between Canada or Mexico and the U.S.

Maybe. Air travelers were required to have passports by June of this year, but the requirement has been postponed because the Department of Homeland Security and the State Department were so inadequately prepared for the predictable increase in passport applications. The system was overwhelmed by 6 million new applications—but government officials continue to maintain that they will be ready to handle an estimated 27 million new passport applications by the end of the year.

Another GAO report last year found that the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, responsible for the amnesty and guest-worker programs in the reform, has a "serious problem" with fraud and won't have a fraud-management program in place until 2011.

Customs, border, and immigration responsibilities belong to the Department of Homeland Security. A GAO report from earlier this year calls into question the department's viability as a new organization attempting to consolidate 22 agencies. The report concludes that the department's transformation into an effective whole remains "high risk."

The public's animosity to such a falsely advertised, unworkable bill is evidence of a welcome realism in short supply in Washington this season.

■ COVER STORY II

'Give Me The Tools'

They have them—so use them

MARK KRIKORIAN

"If someone else has a better idea, I'd love to have them give it to us." That was John McCain, challenging his fellow Republican presidential candidates in early June to offer an alternative to the amnesty bill he helped craft with Ted Kennedy. Well, here's a better idea: enforce the law.

Homeland-security secretary Michael Chertoff says it can't be done under existing law: "Give me the tools to do it," he said in a recent pitch for the amnesty bill, which also promises some future improvements in enforcement.

This is a conceit. Many statutory tools already exist to make enormous headway against illegal immigration. But, for his entire administration, George W. Bush has presided over what can only be described as a Silent Amnesty, refusing to enforce the law as it's written today, and even taking steps to help illegal aliens embed themselves in American society.

Were the president to enforce the law, the obvious starting point would be the 850 miles of fencing that Congress mandated last year. Only a few miles have been completed, and less than half is projected to be finished by the end of next year. Speeding the fence's construction would signal the seriousness of enforcement, given the resonance of the issue with the public and the political class's transparent contempt for the idea (captured by McCain's concession to *Vanity Fair*: "I'll build the goddamned fence if they want it").

Controlling the border isn't just about physical barriers. The administration also can change how it deals with those illegal immigrants who make it past the border. Starting about a year and a half

Mr. Krikorian is executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies.

Although the bill is promoted as a crucial improvement in national security, the millions who will be unaccounted for will be joined by millions of the newly legalized with documents permitting work and travel ...

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ago, all illegal aliens apprehended near the south Texas town of Del Rio have been prosecuted for illegal entry and briefly jailed, rather than immediately returned across the border to Mexico. As one agent put it, "There's nothing we're doing that wasn't already on the books. It's nothing new. We just started enforcing the law."

What it did require, though, was additional detention space, prosecutors, and the other accouterments of criminal justice—in addition to a directive from the top. This initiative has resulted in a 57 percent drop in arrests for the first part of this year in Del Rio, but the area's arrests account for only 3 percent of total illegal-crossing arrests nationwide. Making this policy permanent and uniform is one of those "better ideas."

Beyond the border, the most important component of effective immigration enforcement is to prevent illegal aliens from finding work by making legal status a labor standard—similar to the ban on child labor. A tool to achieve this could be a version of something we have now: the Employment Eligibility Verification System (EEVS), a voluntary online tool for employers to check whether the people they hire really are who they say they are. About 16,000 employers are currently participating.

Eventually, Congress will have to mandate that all employers verify all their employees' identities through this system, as the current Senate bill would do. But there's no reason to accept amnesty as a price for a verification system. There are plenty of ways the White House could get the ball rolling administratively, without a new law, and thus close off jobs in the industries where illegal immigrants are most likely to work.

All federal contractors could be required to enroll in the EEVS as a condition of receiving funds. President Clinton employed a variant of this approach in 1996 when he signed Executive Order 12989, which empowered the government to block firms from receiving federal contracts for a period of one year if they knowingly hired illegal aliens. Sadly, this was a mere political ploy: The order required government agencies only to "consider" debarring a firm for hiring an illegal worker, and the General Services Administration, which was to maintain

the "Excluded Parties List," never took any steps to implement the measure. A new executive order requiring federal contractors to enroll in the EEVS, together with serious follow-through, would go a long way toward adopting legal status as a mainstream labor standard.

Curtailling an illegal workforce could also be accomplished by fining those firms that submit W-2 forms with mismatched names and Social Security numbers. Most illegal-immigrant employees work on the books, giving employers a real name but submitting a Social Security number that is either made up or does not belong to them. Even though the IRS can fine companies for submitting illegitimate W-2s, and even though the Social Security Administration's inspector general has identified hundreds of thousands of such instances, no one appears to have been fined—ever.

Today, the government simply sends out "no match" letters to employers with large numbers of employees with mismatched or fake Social Security numbers. Employers can throw the letters away with impunity, but a pending administrative rule would lay out steps employers must take to demonstrate a good-faith effort to identify the problem. If the administration ever decides to issue this regulation in final form, it would be one more step toward ending the policy of tacitly permitting the employment of illegal aliens.

Facilitating cooperation between federal and local authorities is another legislation-free method to repeal the Silent Amnesty. The 700,000 state and local police encounter illegal aliens in the normal course of their duties, and incorporating them into the immigration enforcement system would be an invaluable force multiplier.

It is precisely for this reason that the administration has not encouraged it. In 2002, the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel wrote a memo highlighting the inherent constitutional authority of state and local law enforcement to make arrests for civil violations of federal immigration law. But this memo was spiked by the White House so that apologists for illegal immigration could continue to point to an erroneous Clinton-era legal opinion that prohibited local arrests for civil immigration violations.

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About Your Professor

Dr. J. Rufus Fears is David Ross Boyd Professor of Classics at the University of Oklahoma, where he holds the G.T. and Libby Blankenship Chair in the History of Liberty. He earned his Ph.D. from Harvard University. A 21-time award winner for outstanding teaching, he was Indiana University's first-ever Distinguished Faculty Research Lecturer. He has written four books and more than 100 articles and reviews.

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29. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust*, Part 2
30. Henry David Thoreau, *Walden*
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So far, the administration allows select-ed police officers to receive 287(g) training—a rigorous course in immigration law, followed by formal deputization as immigration agents. This has been used by several states, including Florida and Alabama, to create a small cadre of go-to guys on immigration for their respective police forces. This training program exists only because Congress mandated it in the 1996 immigration law. But if this administration can't eliminate it, they have made sure it proceeds at a snail's pace. Over a period of four years, only 214 police officers received the training, and there are more than 70 jurisdictions on the waiting list for the program, with perhaps hundreds more interested but discouraged by the wait.

Unfortunately, instead of making the United States a less appealing destination for would-be illegal immigrants, the administration often seems to be offering enticements. For instance, the Treasury Department formally told banks in 2002 that they could accept for the purposes of opening accounts the Mexican government's ID for its nationals living outside of Mexico—the *matricula consular*—thus helping illegal aliens embed themselves in American society. Reversing this decision would be a simple technical matter, but it requires leadership.

That is the core of the problem. The Silent Amnesty is not a function of the impossibility of enforcement, or the overwhelming size of the problem, or the lack of needed tools. The Silent Amnesty is a choice made by the Bush administration, part of a strategy to make a formal amnesty inevitable by creating what the Israeli settler movement called “facts on the ground.”

But the Silent Amnesty is a choice that can be reversed. The enforcement measures spelled out above are not scatter-shot efforts, but rather the component parts of a strategic alternative to amnesty, silent or otherwise. This alternative is “attrition through enforcement”—an effort to make it increasingly difficult to be an illegal alien, so that fewer will come, and more of those already here will give up and leave. It has worked when we've tried it, it is administratively feasible, and it doesn't require any new laws. But only the president can set it in motion.

NR

■ COVER STORY III

In Government, Too

You'll find illegal aliens in the darndest places

TERENCE P. JEFFREY

NEARLY everyone professes to agree that the government should crack down on employers who hire illegal aliens. But it appears that the government needs, first, to crack down on itself. That's the story told in a footnote of an audit report quietly released a year ago by the inspector general of a federal agency that seemingly has nothing to do with immigration.

It indicates that the Bush administration itself has employed aliens not authorized to work in the United States. Year after year, first the Justice Department and then the Department of Homeland Security were given information that would have allowed them to pinpoint exactly who these unauthorized alien workers were and which federal agencies employed them. Yet, by the end of the period covered by the audit report (which ran through tax year 2003), the problem remained unsolved. (The inspector general has not yet analyzed the relevant data for tax years after 2003.)

Which agencies employed these aliens? The government won't say. Citing a provision in the tax code, the inspector general's office says it is prohibited from publicly identifying them, and so, for now, they stay “in the shadows.”

The audit report is innocuously titled “Employers with the Most Wage Items in the Nonwork Alien File.” It was published in June 2006 by the inspector general of the Social Security Administration (SSA), and is publicly available on SSA's website. The audit was designed to discover the

100 employers that had filed the largest number of W-2 forms in tax years 2001 through 2003 for employees who were using what SSA calls “nonwork” Social Security Numbers (SSNs). These are SSNs that SSA gives to aliens who are not entitled to work in the U.S. but who claim to need an SSN anyway.

Prior to 1996, SSA handed these numbers out like candy. According to a 1999 inspector general's report, an alien who had no right to work in the U.S. could nonetheless get an SSN “for a variety of reasons including tax, banking, school, insurance, driver's license, and government benefit purposes.” After reforms made in 1996, an alien could still get a “nonwork” SSN in order to secure a driver's license or claim a government benefit to which he was entitled even though he was not entitled to work in the U.S. In 2003, SSA stopped giving out nonwork SSNs for driver's licenses.

But the damage was done. By 1998, there were already more than 7 million “nonwork” SSNs in circulation—a number exceeding the combined populations of Rhode Island, New Mexico, Wyoming, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Delaware. Not surprisingly, many aliens used these “nonwork” SSNs to work illegally in the U.S.

To deal with this problem, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 mandated that SSA create a list every year called the NWALIEN file. This list includes the names and addresses of every worker and every employer associated with a W-2 bearing a nonwork SSN. The law mandated that SSA provide this list annually to the Justice Department, which contained the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). In 2003, when the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) took over the functions of INS, SSA started sending the list to DHS.

Because some aliens originally given nonwork SSNs eventually secure work visas or green cards, and because the DHS does not notify SSA when this happens, the raw NWALIEN file produced by SSA includes names of many people who are currently authorized to work in the U.S. All DHS would need to do to create a detailed road map for worksite enforcement against one type of immigration law-breaking, however, is double check the

Mr. Jeffrey is editor-at-large of *Human Events*.

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NWALIEN list against its own work-authorization data.

As part of its audit, for example, the SSA inspector general's office checked a random sample of 275 "nonwork" W-2s against DHS data. Thirty-seven percent of the workers named on these W-2s, it turned out, had indeed secured authorization to work in the U.S. Sixty-one percent, however, had not. For another five people in the sample (2 percent), DHS could find no records at all.

Thirty-six of the 275 randomly sampled "nonwork" W-2s were for government workers. Sixteen of these 36 government workers (44 percent) had never been authorized to work in the U.S. Also, one of the five workers for whom DHS had no records was a government employee.

In fact, government itself, the inspector general determined, was the nation's most egregious filer of W-2s with nonwork SSNs. Seventeen of the top 100 employers for filing these questionable W-2s were federal, state, or local government agencies. From 2001 to 2003, these agencies collectively filed 49,380 W-2s with nonwork SSNs, reporting \$1.5 billion in tax dollars paid to employees who might not be authorized to work in the U.S.

If, in keeping with the inspector general's random sample, 44 percent of the 49,380 "nonwork" W-2s filed by government agencies were filed on behalf of aliens not authorized to work here, that would mean these agencies filed more than 21,000 W-2s for unauthorized aliens in a three-year period.

A footnote in the report says: "Of the 17 employers in government, 7 were Federal agencies, 7 were State agencies and 3 were local government entities." But the report names no names. I asked the inspector general's office what they were. "I'm afraid we cannot provide that information," the office told me, saying Section 6103 of the Internal Revenue Code prohibits it from doing so. "What, if anything, did DHS do about the government agencies that were filing W-2s with nonwork SSNs?" I asked. "The Department of Homeland Security would be the appropriate party to address that question," answered the IG's office.

I sent DHS spokesman Russ Knocke a copy of the audit report and asked him to name names for me and tell me what DHS had done "to deal with these government

agencies filing W-2s with 'nonwork' SSNs." The totality of his e-mailed answer was: "A non-work SSN might not necessarily mean that the individual is unauthorized to work. The SSA IG's report itself questions the adequacy of the records. Your first question should be directed to the IRS."

The IG's audit report raised a national-security issue. "Non-citizens who work without DHS authorization," it said, "could affect homeland security because they may obtain employment in sensitive areas." Leaving aside the government agencies, 13 of the employers ranked among the top 100 filers of W-2s with nonwork SSNs were in the "technology" sector. Another 15 were universities. One transportation company filed 3,635 of these W-2s. Was it an airline? The report doesn't say.

The report does say, however, that the People's Republic of China ranked fourth and Iran sixth among the top ten countries of birth for employees using nonwork SSNs to work for the 100 employers audited. These 100 employers filed 6,611 W-2s with nonwork SSNs on behalf of PRC nationals, and 4,805 on behalf of Iranians. The report does not indicate if any of these Iranians or Chinese worked for the government.

Another SSA inspector general's report published in September 2005, however, does name a government agency and does mention PRC and Iranian nationals working for the government on nonwork SSNs. It was the Defense Department. In this report, which covered tax years 1999 through 2003, SSA auditors said "we found that 5,192 DOD employees were working under SSNs that were originally issued as nonwork SSNs. For these 5,192 employees, DOD components submitted 19,777 W-2s totaling approximately \$573 million in wages." The report also said 179 of these DOD employees were born in the People's Republic of China and 139 in Iran. The auditors did not check DHS data, however, to see how many of the employees using nonwork SSNs had been authorized to work in the U.S. sometime after they had been assigned a nonwork SSN. It is thus theoretically possible—if unlikely—that all of them were legal workers.

We've learned over the years that it's too much to expect the government to enforce immigration laws. But how about abiding by them?

NR

■ POLITICS

Mrs. Pelosi's Dogs

Blue Dogs, that is—and they are part of her formidable majority

RAMESH PONNURU

RIGHT after the elections last November, we heard a lot about the new breed of conservative Democrats who had helped their party to gain control of Congress. Three of the most frequently mentioned new congressmen were Heath Shuler of North Carolina and Brad Ellsworth and Joe Donnelly of Indiana. All three were pro-life, pro-gun Democrats who beat Republican incumbents.

Both parties had an interest in talking about these men. For the Republicans, it helped to minimize their defeat. The Democrats, they could say, had won only by running Republican-lite candidates. The Democrats, meanwhile, could use the same congressmen to minimize their liberalism. Talking about a handful of conservative Democrats made the entire caucus look moderate.

In truth, Shuler, Ellsworth, and Donnelly were very much outliers. Most of the Democrats who came to Congress this year, like most of their longer-serving Democratic colleagues, are liberals. But the conservative Democrats are worth paying some attention to, if only because they illustrate how hard it is going to be for Republicans to take back the House.

All three men lucked into their congressional seats. They had the good fortune to be running in a strongly anti-Republican year, of course. Donnelly and Ellsworth had an additional advantage: The Republican governor of Indiana was even more unpopular than the Republican president. Donnelly beat incumbent Republican Chris Chocoma, who was widely disliked as an arrogant rich guy. Ellsworth got to run against John Hostettler, who refused to raise money or talk to the press. So far, all of these Democrats' luck is holding.

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To regain the majority, Republicans need to win 15 seats. Their top targets will be Democrats from districts that voted for President Bush. Donnelly, Ellsworth, and Shuler all come from districts that gave Bush more than 55 percent of their votes in 2004. Republicans think that they will do better in these districts in 2008 than they did last year, because it will be a presidential-election year. Republicans hope that the Democratic candidate will be a polarizing figure, such as Sen. Hillary Clinton. She could drag down Democrats in conservative parts of the country (even if she ends up winning the White House).

But Republicans will need more than help at the top of the ticket to prevail. They need to be able to make the case that the Democratic congressmen are voting with their liberal leaders rather than their moderate districts. So far, the red-district congressmen are not making that easy.

On economic issues, there is no deep split between these conservative districts and the Democratic leadership for Republicans to exploit. Shuler, Ellsworth, and Donnelly all voted for an increased minimum wage, but that's popular in their districts, as it is everywhere. Voting to raise income taxes would be unpopular, but they have not done so. Republicans will try to say that their votes for various Democratic budget proposals are tantamount to support for tax increases, but that's a tricky case to make. Ellsworth actually voted against the Democratic budget in March, saying it spent too much money.

There is a divide between red districts and the Democratic leadership on social issues. For the most part, however, the conservative Democrats are sticking with their voters. Shuler, Ellsworth, and Donnelly were among the 16 House Democrats who voted against the "Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act" because it involved federal funding for embryo destruction. They were also among the 14 who voted against a federal hate-crimes bill.

They have not had to vote on "comprehensive immigration reform" yet. Donnelly and Ellsworth aren't waiting for the issue to reach the House floor. A week after a bipartisan group of senators announced a deal on immigration, Donnelly spoke out against it. The next

day, Ellsworth issued a press release: "Ellsworth Rejects Senate Immigration Deal." He said: "On the day this bill becomes law, 12 million illegal immigrants will be eligible for legal protections they didn't have the day before. And each one will gain that status despite having broken America's immigration laws. That sure sounds like amnesty to me. As a former law enforcement officer, rewarding people for breaking our laws just doesn't sit right with me." Shuler, too, says he's against amnesty.



Rep. Brad Ellsworth (D., Ind.)

The trio has walked a fine line on Iraq. They voted for defense bills including timetables and deadlines, but after Bush vetoed those bills they supported a clean defense bill. Donnelly attacked Bush's "surge"—but also attacked Harry Reid for threatening to cut off funding for the troops.

Shuler is getting some flak from liberal blogs in Asheville because of some of his conservative votes, but most Democrats seem to be cutting slack for him and his similarly situated colleagues. His strategy seems to be to keep his head down on national issues and become associated with local causes.

Savvy positioning on the issues isn't the only advantage these conservative Democrats have. It is also not clear how much money the Republicans will be able to spend against them. The party's congressional campaign committee started

the year \$16 million in debt. All campaign committees spend most of their money protecting incumbents from challenges, and several Republican incumbents look vulnerable. Scandal is swirling around Rick Renzi of Arizona, Tom Feeney of Florida, and John Doolittle and Jerry Lewis of California. New Yorkers Jim Walsh and Randy Kuhl also seem weak.

Republican challengers may have to split a small pool of money. And whoever runs against Ellsworth and company will not get first dibs. The Republicans' top targets are the Democrats who won based on scandal last year: Tim Mahoney in Florida, Nick Lampson in Texas, and Jerry McNerney in California. Giving McNerney a race will be expensive: You have to advertise in the Sacramento and San Francisco media markets to cover his district.

So the conservative Democrats go into 2008 with many advantages. They have, however, made a few mistakes. Early this session, they voted to make it easier to unionize companies: Secret-ballot elections would no longer be required. It was a party-line vote: Only two Democrats voted against the bill. At the time, Democratic congressmen may have thought this vote was a costless sop to union leaders. If so, they were wrong. Rep. Tom Cole, the head of the Republican congressional campaign committee, crows: "It polls off the charts. It just infuriates small business owners. There is no segment of the population other than union organizers that it's popular with."

Another mistake came during the debate over reauthorizing Head Start, the program for poor pre-schoolers. Conservatives wanted an amendment to clarify that religious groups that participate in the program retain the right to hire and fire in accordance with their religious views. Shuler sponsored an amendment that praised the religious groups but did not recognize that right. Ellsworth co-sponsored the amendment, and Donnelly voted for it. It passed on a party-line vote. One can readily understand why the House Democratic leadership would want Shuler, a Southern Baptist, to take the lead on this amendment. It is harder to see what was in it for Shuler and the other red-district Democrats.

All three congressmen joined the

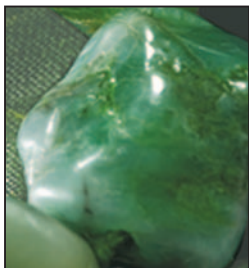
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"Blue Dogs," a coalition of moderate Democrats. But they run the risk of blurring their distinctions with other Democrats. Pennsylvania Democrat John Murtha tried to get a Republican congressman to vote with him by threatening to use his power as a committee chairman to axe projects in the Republican's district. It was a clear violation of House ethics rules. But all three of the conservative Democrats voted against a reprimand of Murtha.

Speaker Nancy Pelosi also poses a delicate political problem for them. On most issues, they are going to vote with her: They are, after all, loyal Democrats. But supporting Pelosi 90 percent of the time will not play well in their districts. Cole, the Republican campaign chief, points out that Newt Gingrich, when he was speaker, was so unpopular that he could not campaign for Republican candidates in some parts of the country. Gingrich's successor, on the other hand, was the lower-profile Denny Hastert, who was welcome everywhere. Pelosi, Cole says, is more like Gingrich than Hastert: "There are many districts in the country where I guarantee you they do not want to bring her in. I'd be happy to design a travel schedule for her to Blue Dog and freshman districts—and pay for it."

Polls show that the new Democratic Congress, just a few months old, is already more unpopular than the old Republican Congress was. The task for Republicans will be to make that unpopularity stick to individual incumbents. Given Americans' tendency to damn Congress while praising their own congressmen, that will be a difficult task.

Chocola and Hostettler are out of the picture now. Charles Taylor, the congressman Shuler beat in North Carolina, is considering a rematch. Republicans are divided on the merits of another run by Taylor. On the plus side, he held the seat for 16 years. But by the end of the campaign, he was, as campaign operatives say, "upside down" by ten points: More people in the district held an unfavorable than a favorable opinion of him.

The first reelection bid is usually a congressman's hardest. So what one of those operatives, a Republican, says about Ellsworth may be true of all three of them: "If you don't get him now, you're never going to get him."

NR

■ THE WORLD

A 20th-Century Career

Kurt Waldheim, 1918–2007

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

KURT WALDHEIM was one of the most despicable—and most despised—public figures in the West since 1945. His whole career was an exercise in craft and evasion. As secretary general of the United Nations from 1972 to 1982, he helped to put in place the standard approach of that body, which is above all to blame the United States for the world's ills, and therefore to obstruct its foreign policy. He and the Soviet Union, needless to say, were mutually supportive in that critical stage of the Cold War. Under him too, the U.N. discovered that anti-Israeli agitation served to broaden the attack on the United States. In 1975, he did nothing to oppose the resolution that "Zionism is racism." The following year, the Israelis rescued passengers on an aircraft hijacked to Entebbe, in Uganda. For Waldheim, this famous blow for freedom was "a serious violation of the national sovereignty of a United Nations member state." Leaving office, he purloined a large amount of silver that he himself had commissioned for the U.N. Now that he has died at the age of 88, these stolen goods must form part of his estate. The shamelessness is characteristic.

From 1986 to 1992, he was then president of Austria. Perhaps the Austrians applauded a statesman with an international reputation; perhaps they approved of his record; and perhaps they appreciated that

Mr. Pryce-Jones is an NR senior editor. His latest novel is *Safe Houses*, which involves the question of Austro-Germany and the war. Two of his many nonfiction books are *Vienna* and *Paris in the Third Reich*.

he was anti-Jewish like they were, and of two minds about Hitler. They knew that in a time of glory they had been enthusiastic supporters of Hitler, but now in a time of loss they liked to deceive themselves that on the contrary they were his early victims. The election of Waldheim squared that circle, sparing Austrians any residual guilt they might have felt about their Nazism and anti-Semitism.

Fatally for the self-image of victimization, however, the truth was emerging that Waldheim was almost certainly a war criminal, but refused to answer for it. To their credit, Austrian journalists like the indefatigable Hubertus Czernin were the first to probe. By 1987, the U.S. Department of Justice had enough evidence to place Waldheim on a list of persons denied entry to the country. He therefore found himself unable to attend the celebration in New York of the U.N.'s 50th anniversary. Other countries followed suit. Austrians soon found themselves represented by a president so ostracized that he could hardly travel abroad, and whom virtually nobody visited. His disgrace, his shamelessness, was also Austria's.

In interviews and autobiographical books, Waldheim had always maintained that he had not been a Nazi, and had played a minimal part in the war. He was dissembling, and—what must have added to his confidence—getting away with it. Ambition made him a natural opportunist. The child of a school inspector, he was born in a village near Vienna in 1918, as the Habsburg Empire was falling apart. Originally the family name was Watzlawick, but the change to Waldheim germanized Czech origins that would have proved unhelpful in the Nazi era. At the time of Hitler's invasion and annexation of Austria, Waldheim was a law student in Vienna. Three weeks after the annexation, he joined the Nazi Student Union, an affiliate of the Nazi party. At the time of Kristallnacht in November 1938, the Nazis burned 42 of the 43 Viennese synagogues, and one week later Waldheim joined the Sturmabteilung, the S.A. or Brownshirts. In 1941, he was sent to the Russian front. Lightly wounded in the ankle, he was brought back home to Vienna, and liked to pretend that he had spent the rest of the war there completing his law studies. This lie

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conditioned everything that followed.

In reality, Waldheim was posted for three years as an intelligence officer in the Balkans. Officially, he was a translator, an interpreter, and a “special-missions staff officer.” This involved verifying and transmitting orders, and making his own recommendations. Anyone in his position could not avoid being fully informed about the course of local events. He served on the staff of two particularly brutal generals: Friedrich Stahl and Alexander Loehr, another Austrian, whose specialty was the execution of hostages, for which he was hanged in 1947. In what was known as Operation Kozara, and much feared at the time, the Germans and their Croat allies, the Ustashe, rounded up tens of thousands of partisans, mostly Serb Chetniks under the command of Tito. Waldheim was quartered close to Jasenovac, the concentration camp where these Serbs were killed. Ante Pavelic, the Croat dictator commanding the Ustashe, rewarded Waldheim for his work with the Order of Zvonimir, enhanced by oak-leaf clusters, in the citation praising his “courage in battle.” Waldheim’s last posting under General Loehr was to Arsakli, on the outskirts of Salonika, at a moment when 50,000 or so of the Jews living only a mile or two away were being deported to their death in Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen.

At the end of the war, Waldheim was interned with other prominent Nazis. He duly became Case No. R/N/684 in the United Nations War Crimes Commission dossiers, charged with “murder” and “putting hostages to death.” The Yugoslavs wanted his arrest and extradition. The commission was dissolved as early as 1948, and the case against Waldheim disappeared into thin air. In the cozy Austrian manner, friends pushed him into the foreign ministry, and made a diplomat of him. He rose fast, as a delegate to the U.N., an ambassador, director general of political affairs, and in 1968 finally foreign minister. That year Soviet tanks crushed the Prague Spring, and Waldheim gave orders that the Austrian embassy close its doors to any Czechs seeking refuge or visas to leave—a favor to the Soviets, and all the more unexpected in someone whose original name had been Watzlawik.

AFP An invisible process of lobbying gov-

erns the choice of the U.N. secretary general. In 1971 the United States’ candidate was Max Jakobson, who was Finnish and Jewish. The Soviet Union was trying to extend its hold on the Middle East by backing Arab nationalism, and Jakobson was therefore unacceptable. Yugoslavia had broken with the Soviet Union by then, but now joined with it in pushing Waldheim as their candidate. So unusual was this *démarche* that commentators regularly wonder whether both countries had incriminating material on Waldheim—blackmail might explain his readiness to give in to the Communists and their bloc in the Third World. Tito awarded him the



Kurt Waldheim in happy U.N. days

Order of the Grand Cross of Yugoslavia. The symbolism was perfect: Waldheim had been decorated by the Fascists and the Communists in the same country.

As his record came more and more into question, Waldheim resorted to the standard Nazi apologia which goes like this: I was never a Nazi; and if I was, then I did nothing bad; and if I did do something bad, then it was someone else’s fault. He had never been to Kozara, he began by claiming, and had never heard of any operation there, nor about mass murder at Jasenovac. He was one of only 30 Germans to receive the Zvonimir medal, but said he could not remember what he had done for it, and in any case it had been handed out “like chocolates.” As for the

fate of the Salonika Jews, “I never heard or learned anything of this while I was there.”

The World Jewish Congress, Prof. F. H. Hinsley (the foremost authority on British intelligence), a team set up by the Austrian government, the talented writer Shirley Hazzard—all are among those who have attempted to establish the degree of Waldheim’s war guilt. And all concur that Waldheim had been lying to cover his tracks: An intelligence officer in his position could not conceivably be as ignorant as he pretended to be. In an authoritative study, Prof. Robert Herzstein of the University of South Carolina went further, to conclude that Waldheim was “an efficient and effective cog in the machinery of genocide.”

Nobody has yet come closer to proving Waldheim’s complicity in crime than C. M. Woodhouse. In his early twenties, he was the youngest colonel in the British army and head of the Allied military mission to Greece in 1943. One of the officers under his command, Captain Warren, was captured, interrogated by Waldheim at Arsakli, and then summarily executed. Waldheim drafted a summary and commentary on the interrogation, falsely depicting Warren as a saboteur, and this crucial document with his signature on it is in Washington. In a long article in 1988, Woodhouse explained that much of this document is illegible, inexplicably having “suffered massive deletions with a brush-tipped pen.” (Does technology now permit the reading of these deletions? one may ask.) Woodhouse always believed that evidence would come to light one day substantiating that Waldheim was responsible at the very least for the illegal shooting of a British prisoner of war.

Why the prevarication, why the lying? Evidently because it paid off. Case No. R/N/684 moldered in some storehouse, and nobody appeared to examine it or to care. So this unsavory character took his chances to distort the purposes and practices of the United Nations, passing off his innate flaws on to the organization that above all should have exposed him. So Austrians rallied around him because they knew he really and truly was one of their own, and if he could succeed by making his Nazi past invisible, so could they. It is a 20th-century story, a parable of its time.

NR

■ PHILOSOPHY

Truth Was Not His Bag

Richard Rorty, 1931–2007

ROGER KIMBALL

IF Richard Rorty hadn't existed, it would have been necessary for the academy to invent him. Rorty, who died at 75 on June 8, epitomized a hearty American version of the Teutonic epistemic gloom that has raged like wildfire through the American university from the 1970s to, well, at least to the day before yesterday. When I was in graduate school, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* (1979), Rorty's declaration of intellectual apostasy, was regarded with awe, wonder, and adulation. Here was a man who had made his philosophical reputation through the careful analysis of concepts—his book *The Linguistic Turn* (1967) bears witness to his skill in that direction—and now he came preaching the gospel of relaxation: Truth, it turned out, didn't matter. Philosophy itself didn't matter. What mattered, Rorty said in one of the book's most famous phrases, was "continuing the conversation."

Here was something that graduate students—and not only graduate students—could get behind: philosophy as a sort of backyard chat, and what's more, a thoroughly disillusioning chat. "I do not," Rorty wrote, "have much use for notions like 'objective value' and 'objective truth.'" Wow!

Rorty had read Nietzsche. He had read Heidegger. He had read Jacques Derrida. He came bearing the news that their philosophies were (near enough) indistinguishable from the pragmatism of John Dewey and William James. Was this true? That was the wrong question. "It was

Mr. Kimball is co-editor and co-publisher of *The New Criterion*. Among his many books are *Experiments Against Reality: The Fate of Culture in the Postmodern Age* and *Lives of the Mind: The Use and Abuse of Intelligence from Hegel to Wodehouse*.

Nietzsche," Rorty noted, "who first explicitly suggested that we drop the whole idea of 'knowing the truth.'" Rorty dedicated his career to packaging that renunciation.

The core contention of deconstruction is that (as Derrida put it in an early essay) "there is nothing outside the text." But the deconstructionist impulse comes in a variety of flavors, from bitter and minatory (Derrida's brand) to cloyingly sweet, which is the variety Rorty peddled. It turned out to have been quite a franchise. In the early 1980s, Rorty left his professorship at Princeton for an even grander one at the University of Virginia; in 1998,

he went to Stanford to luxuriate in semi-retirement. He was the recipient of numerous honors and awards, including a MacArthur Foundation "genius" award. By the 1990s, Rorty was widely regarded as he regarded himself: as a sort of secular sage, dispensing exhortations on all manner of subjects, as readily on the op-ed page of major newspapers as between the covers of an academic book of philosophical essays. The tone was always soothing, the rhetoric impish, the message nihilistic but cheerful. It has turned out to be an unbeatable recipe for success, patronizing the reader with the thought that there is nothing that cannot be patronized.

Old House of Fear

Russell Kirk

DEBUTING in the 1960s, *Old House of Fear* was Russell Kirk's most popular book, selling more than all his other books combined. Yet this Gothic tale is more than just a fascinating work of fiction. As in all of Kirk's stories, a deeper meaning emerges—in this case, a satirization of Marxism and liberalism—demonstrating the acute sense of the moral that sets Kirk apart from other genre writers.

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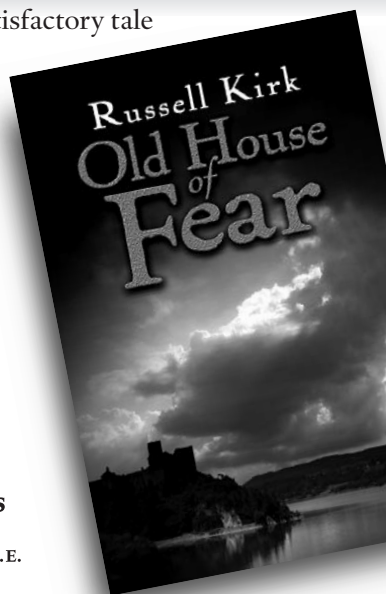
— John J. Miller in *National Review*

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Rorty did not call himself a deconstructionist. That might be too off-putting. Instead, he called himself a “pragmatist” or—a favorite appellation—a “liberal ironist,” i.e., someone who thinks that “cruelty is the worst thing we can do” (the liberal part) but who, believing that moral values are utterly contingent, also believes that what counts as “cruelty” is a sociological or linguistic construct. (This is where the irony comes in: “I do not think,” Rorty wrote, “there are any plain moral facts out there . . . nor any neutral ground on which to stand and argue that either torture or kindness are [sic] preferable to the other.”)

Accordingly, one thing that was certain to earn Rorty’s contempt was the spectacle of philosophers without sufficient contempt for the truth. “You can still find philosophy professors,” he wrote with undisguised irritation, “who will solemnly tell you that they are seeking the truth, not just a story or a consensus but an honest-to-God, down-home, accurate representation of the way the world is.” That’s the problem with liberal ironists: They are ironical about everything except their own irony, and are serious about tolerating everything except seriousness.

As Rorty was quick to point out, the “bedrock metaphilosophical issue” here is whether we have any non-linguistic access to reality. Does language “go all the way down,” as he put it? Or does language point to a reality beyond itself, a reality that exercises a legitimate claim on our attention and provides a measure and limit for our descriptions of the world? In other words, is truth something that we invent? Or something that we discover?

The main current of Western culture has overwhelmingly endorsed the latter view. But Rorty firmly endorsed the idea that truth is merely a human invention. He wanted us to drop “the notion of truth as correspondence with reality altogether” and realize that there is “no difference that makes a difference” between the statement “it works because it’s true” and “it’s true because it works.” He tells us that “[s]entences like . . . ‘Truth is independent of the human mind’ are simply platitudes used to inculcate . . . the common sense of the West.” Of course, Rorty is right that such sentences “inculcate the common sense of the West.” He is even right that they are “platitudes.” The statement “The sun rises in the east” is another such platitude.

Rorty looked forward to a culture—he called it a “liberal utopia”—in which the “Nietzschean metaphors” of self-creation are finally “literalized,” i.e., made real. For philosophers, or people who used to be philosophers, this would mean a culture that “took for granted that philosophical problems are as temporary as poetic problems, that there are no problems which bind the generations together in a single natural kind called ‘humanity.’”

Rorty recognized that most people are not yet liberal ironists. Many people still believe that there is such a thing as truth independent of their thoughts. Some even continue to entertain the idea that their identity is more than a distillate of biological and sociological accidents. Rorty



Richard Rorty

knew this. Whether he also knew that his own position as a liberal ironist crucially depended on most people being non-ironists is another question. I suspect he didn’t. In any event, he was clearly impatient with what he refers to as “a particular historically conditioned and possibly transient” view of the world, that is, the pre-ironical view for which things like truth and morality still matter.

In his book *Overcoming Law*, the jurist and legal philosopher Richard Posner criticized Rorty for his “deficient sense of fact” and “his belief in the plasticity of human nature,” noting that both are “typical of modern philosophy.” They are typical, anyway, of certain influential strains of modern philosophy. And it is in the union of these two things—a deficient sense of fact and a utopian belief in the unbounded plasticity of human nature—that the legacy of Nietzsche bears its most poisonous fruit.

It is worth noting that the cognitive pessimism espoused by Rorty has moral as well as intellectual implications. When he said, expatiating on the delights of his liberal utopia, that “a postmetaphysical culture [is] no more impossible than a postreligious one, and equally desirable,” he perhaps spoke truer than he purposed. For despite the tenacity of non-irony in many sections of society, there is much in our culture that shows the disastrous effects of Nietzsche’s dream of a post-metaphysical, ironized society of putative self-creators. And of course to say that such a society would be as desirable as a postreligious society amounts to saying also that it would be just as undesirable.

Like his fellow liberal ironists, Rorty took radical secularism to be an unarguable good. For him, religion, like truth—like anything that transcends our contingent self-creations—belongs to the childhood of mankind. Ironists are beyond all that, and liberal ironists are beyond it with a smile and a wink. Like other disciples of Enlightenment, they come promising freedom and the end of various forms of servitude. But like so many other promises of emancipation, Rorty’s liberal irony turns out to contain the seeds of new forms of bondage. Philosophy has been one important casualty of this development. It is no accident that so much modern philosophy has been committed to bringing us the gospel of the end of philosophy. Once it abandons its vocation as the love of wisdom, philosophy inevitably becomes the gravedigger of its highest ambitions, interring itself with tools originally forged to perpetuate its service to truth.

Today, the effects of that development are evident everywhere. At stake is not simply the future of an academic discipline but the deepest sources of our moral and intellectual self-understanding. In *Philosophical Investigations*, Wittgenstein remarked that “all philosophical problems have the form ‘I have lost my way.’” At a moment when so much of our intellectual life has degenerated into an experiment against reality, perhaps our primary task is facing up to the fact that many of the liberations we crave have served chiefly to compound the depth of our loss. How ironical if the chief effect of Richard Rorty’s liberal irony should be to remind us of this truth.

NR

■ CULTURE WATCH

American Party Girl

The prisonerette in L.A.

ROB LONG

FIRST, two confessions. When I saw the photographs of a sobbing, snot-faced Paris Hilton getting carted back to jail—she had been released for “an unspecified medical problem” after serving only a few days of her sentence—I got a creepy thrill out of it.

“Good!” I thought to myself. Paris Hilton needs to learn that the law applies to everyone. Paris Hilton can’t drive drunk, get her license suspended, then keep driving. Paris Hilton is a symbol of everything that’s wrong with this country—the obsession with mindless, half-educated celebrities; the cultish worship of fashion; the coarse public sexuality; the disappearance of shame; the unembarassable rich. Paris Hilton needs to suffer. Paris Hilton needs to be forced to squat down on a stainless steel toilet in full view of the other inmates for the next 45 days, at least. That’ll teach her.

And here’s the second confession: Last night, I went out to dinner. Before dinner, I enjoyed a Maker’s Mark bourbon on the rocks. With dinner—grilled fish, some vegetables, an odd-looking flan—I had three glasses of wine. And then I drove home.

I wasn’t over the .08 percent blood alcohol content that California legislators have somehow arrived at as the definition of drunkenness. I mean, I don’t *think* I was. Put it this way: I’ve probably driven home with more in the tank, if you get my drift. And dinner lasted several hours, though exactly how many hours, under the advice of my attorney, I choose not to specify.

Let me throw in a third, unadvertised confession. If, somehow, through a combination of too many Maker’s, too much wine, and an insufficient amount of breadbasket Hoovering (highly unlikely, as anyone who has ever eaten with me

will testify), I actually *do* end up driving home, at some point in the future, over the .08 percent legal limit, and I *do* get pinched by the local cops for weaving all over Olympic Boulevard, and then I *do* forget, as Paris Hilton claims to have forgotten, that my license is suspended (twice), and a chain of events ensues that results in my getting perp-walked back to the Los Angeles County Twin Towers Men’s Correctional Facility, let me tell you: It will be a six-act play. I will cry like a freakin’ baby. I mean sobs, hyperventilation, mouth-open wails. I mean tears and spittle and mucus until I look like a giant glazed doughnut.

So with the high horse thus dispensed, let’s talk about Paris Hilton.

She’s a 26-year-old, highly sexualized halfwit with nothing, really, to her credit. She’s silly and pointless, and whether she knows it or not, more often the butt of the joke than in on the joke. We don’t know for certain what the next five or ten years will bring for this tiny-brained, sexy little zero, but we’re all pretty sure it doesn’t end in Oslo, at the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony. It doesn’t end in the State Department, as the Ambassador Plenipotentiary to this hotspot or that. It doesn’t end in the lobby of Sequoia Capital, a Silicon Valley-based venture-capital fund, with the specs to a

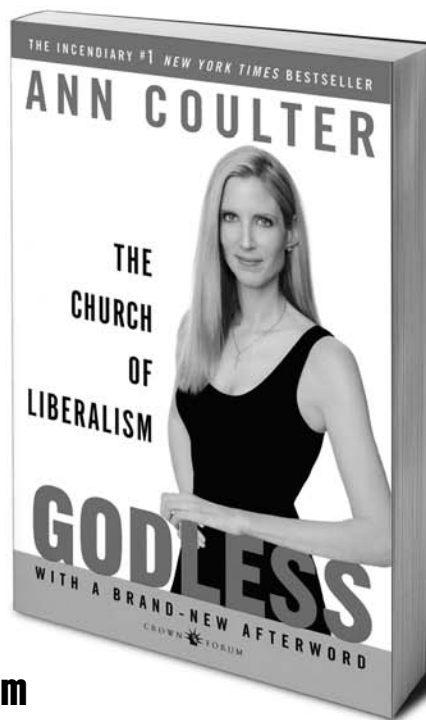
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revolutionary new search-engine algorithm in her Bottega Veneta attaché. It doesn't end with her on the shuttle to Boston with a copy of *Grant's Interest Rate Observer*.

No, it ends in a liquor store, or a drug overdose, or a car accident, or, worse, in obscurity. It ends as a punchline to a series of monologue jokes by Conan and Jay and Dave and Craig and Jimmy and Jon and Stephen and whoever else needs to fill 30 seconds of TV time with a fast, easy (just like Paris! See? Even I'm doing it!) laugh line about a rich, stupid, sad, almost-30 skank.

It's safe to say that one day Paris Hilton will look back on her six weeks in prison as a preview of coming attractions.

Still, there's something not quite right about the gleeful piling on we've all enjoyed these past few weeks, as if Paris is uniquely privileged, as if she uniquely represents the worst of us. In fact, her prison sentence is itself a kind of reverse-adjustment to her celebrity: Anyone else—even me, perhaps—in her shoes would have been immediately sentenced to house arrest, due to prison overcrowding.

And, honestly, what would we have her do? The poor thing doesn't have a brain in her head. She's purpose-built for mindless partying and promiscuous sex—all hair and smoldering looks and shapely shapes, without a meaningful bone in her body. (And if you think I'm going to go for that one, you're crazy).

Why do we want to see her humiliated so deeply? Why do we relish the sight of her slinking off to jail? Why does she offend us so?

Oddly, for a country that often finds itself worshipping the rich, we don't cut Paris a break, though her inherited wealth is no more noxious than, say, Donald Trump's. And Paris is a lot easier on the eyes. No one forces us to watch the Paris Hilton show—it's not like she's on *Russert* or *O'Reilly*—and when the possibly-mentally-retarded heiress appears on television, it's on mindless celebrity shows, where she fits right in. When she shows up around town, it's at silly PR events, like fashion-line launches and fragrance introductions. Her restaurants are not our restaurants—hell, in Los Angeles, her *hours* aren't even my hours.

I'm in bed by 11, just when Paris is gliding around town to the next party, baked to the gills.

God forbid prison changes her. What if she finds Jesus, or global warming, or—it's almost too awful to contemplate—*Darfur* in there? Would we all really prefer the serious, concerned Paris—she'll wear serious glasses and trim suits, push down the curves and stop the sexy pouts—appearing with all of the other celebs, droning away about the planet and the poor and the importance of buying local?

Paris is our party girl. We envy her. Which is why, perhaps, we're so nastily enjoying her current confinement—because she's utterly pointless and can afford to be. When the end comes for Paris—as it will for all of us—it probably won't be the kind of end any of us would choose for ourselves. Let's comfort ourselves with that, and leave the twisted grins and the gleeful pokes to the late-night comics. Of the many, many, *many* social ills we now confront as a country and a culture, Paris Hilton ranks up there with Public Gum-Chewing and Insufficient Attention to the Beauty of Caribbean Dance. Let her party on.

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Economic Reds: A Diagnosis

Understanding Hillary Clinton, John Edwards, and their breed

MICHAEL NOVAK

MORE amusing than apocalyptic Greens are economic Reds. An economic red is not necessarily a socialist; he does not necessarily believe in, for instance, the abolition of private property, the planned economy, or treating profit as an anti-social crime. He does not necessarily think being rich is evil; in fact, some economic reds are quite rich themselves, and enjoy being rich. He is, however, gripped by three seductive fascinations—the views that 1) government is motherly and warm, 2) a halo attaches to the “leveling” of economic differences, and 3) there exists in corporations and in those who profit from commerce a residual stench of evil.

Economic reds grow up believing that compassion is the highest of all moral qualities, and that it serves as a kind of plenary indulgence making up for a lot of other sins. For some, this sentiment arises from the rational “fraternity” evoked by the Enlightenment. Others learned it from Deuteronomy, or the Sermon on the Mount. These Biblical sources preceded the Enlightenment by many centuries, and may have rendered the “reason” of the Enlightenment a good deal less cold, mathematical, and self-interested than it might otherwise have been. So, at least, Bertrand Russell, Richard Rorty, and Jürgen Habermas—rationalists all—have suggested.

Sociologically, economic reds seem to be found far more often among artists, writers, and professors than among engineers, surgeons, agricultural scientists, realtors, and those who deal with the public as retailers or clerks. Some hard sciences that depend heavily on government subsidies tend also to nurture many economic reds—but also a surprising number of dissenters.

Beyond fantasizing about government as motherly, and about victims as helpless without it, economic reds also fantasize that businessmen, large corporations, and especially CEOs of large corporations, are villainous or, at least, shady. Few today call such persons, as vulgarly as FDR did, “economic royalists.” FDR meant to suggest that the new white knights of government were like the heroic aristocrats who obliged King John to sign the Magna Carta, or the Cromwellian republicans who drove James II from power in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Royalists were for FDR the bad guys. And to call businessmen “royalty” when they were not even “barons,” let alone “robbers,” was a bit of a low blow. Besides,

he would soon desperately need their prowess in the war effort.

No, the *real* philosophical sex change that transformed manly “liberalism” from the party of opposition to government, ever watchful against government as liberty’s chief foe, into an entirely different kind of liberalism, now the party of ever bigger and more “compassionate” government, was first made by John Dewey in 1935, in *Liberalism and Social Action*. Dewey wrote the instruction manual for the modern liberal in how to steal a potent term—one that had meant “free, independent, and self-governing”—and change it into its opposite: Big-government “liberalism” now meant government as the mothering nurse of the weak. From David Hume, Adam Smith, and Francis Hutcheson, Dewey fled to Hegel’s “spirit of government”; from Anglo-Saxon history to a world of misty, *geistliche* concepts; from the old conviction that the New World had much to teach the Old, to the new conviction that the avant-garde battle flag to follow is European red. Thus did the grand dream emerge: *Big government is to be visualized no longer as the main threat against the rights and liberties of local communities and independent persons, but as the nurturing mother of social good, from above.*

DIVIDE AND CONQUER

The genius of the American economy in the 20th century was that it helped to counter [the] tendency for people to push as far as their own interests would take them so that we created a leveler playing field that benefited everyone. Unfortunately, for the past six years it’s as though we’ve gone back to the era of the robber barons. Year after year the president has handed out massive tax breaks to oil companies, no-bid contracts to Halliburton, tax incentives to corporations shipping jobs overseas, tax cut after tax cut to multimillionaires, while ignoring the needs and aspirations of tens of millions of working families.

—Sen. Hillary Clinton, May 29, 2007

In preparation for the 2008 presidential election, at least two candidates have competed vigorously for the votes of economic reds. In truth, such competition is mostly concentrated around academic institutions, suburbs that attract the professional class, and centers of new technology such as software. A rather substantial number of union members among what quaintly used to be called “the work-

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ing classes” are no longer economic reds, even though some others remain so. Many blue-collar workers want their sons and daughters to gain college degrees, and push them to seek out jobs in the professional and upper-middle classes. These parents have become economic “blues”: They are mightily in favor of upward mobility, hard work, education, and entrepreneurship. They *hate* those economic reds who want to level society just as their own children are at last getting a chance to climb upwards. This observation helps explain why John Sweeney and other old-line trade-union leaders are having so hard a time delivering the votes of their members. Sweeney is far too red for many of his members, who look at the blue skies beckoning their children. The number of workers belonging to unions has dwindled, and the unions cannot deliver all the votes of the remaining members.

Thus, the only recruiting ground left for economic reds these days lies among “victims.” This net is cast mainly to pull in racial minorities, although to some extent, too, certain segments (single women) of racial majorities. Both single women with children and widows understandably may be more attracted than others to a big, caring government that might fill the place of the missing earners in their lives.

That is why, in politics, economic reds strive mightily to instill victimhood in fellow citizens, and to picture them as helplessly in need of government’s assistance. In trying to lift these victims, however, economic reds typically engender greater benefits to benefit-providers than to the poor. There is some merit in what economic reds try to do. Still, their method is like feeding horses as a way of getting to the swallows, when there are far more direct ways to do the job.

Unfortunately, too, the message boomed out by economic reds inexorably divides Americans into mutually resentful constituencies—the “two Americas” (John Edwards); and the “on your own” conservatives who ignore the needy, versus the same needy, for whom government will allegedly provide a larger “share” (Hillary Clinton). The economic reds picture a great *X* that is holding this country back from its early promises, and portray a big and strong and caring government that will overcome *X*. Big government rides to the rescue.

Such promises can, in principle, *never* be fulfilled. In fact, it is crucial for economic reds that they never be fulfilled—otherwise, the basis for having a left-wing politics would simply vanish. This was the urgent warning that Antonio Gramsci tried to pass on to the Italian Communist party. The real problem that capitalism poses is that in actual fact it steadily raises the “proletariat” into the middle classes. It pushes the powerless onto the slow escalator of ownership and upward mobility. Gramsci advised the reds that they could never win the economic argument, and so they should define themselves by a cultural struggle: Their role is to transform the old Christian culture into a new “humanistic” one. They should not tie themselves to the failed economics of the 19th century, but concentrate on changing culture.

In the United States, however, there is not much to be gained politically by attacking the Christian culture of the vast majority (82 percent in recent polls). When only 3 percent of the population defines itself as atheist, and only 10 percent altogether as of no religion, there is not much point in waging an all-out cultural war, at least not in the open. This observation explains why the economic reds of the Democratic party have tried so feverishly since 2004 to “get religion,” and to bring it once again back into their party. They have had some real success with this.

THE POLITICS OF CONDESCENSION

The campaigns of John Edwards (a bit more primitive) and of Hillary Clinton (a bit more sophisticated) show us how the tactics of economic reds these days work out in practice. We do best to concentrate on Senator Clinton, beginning with the revelation of her own economic program at the technical high school in Manchester, N.H., this past May 29.

Senator Clinton’s first move was to rotate the dream of President Bush under a frightening strobe light. Bush has set forth a realizable dream of universal ownership for all Americans—the dream of owning their own personal Social Security accounts, their own medical accounts, their homes or apartments, and their own investment plans. He proposes this as real, life-changing help for the poor, by way of independence and self-determination, in local communities of caring. Senator Clinton transforms this vision into the spinning, hellish “on your own” society.

Her first sly suggestion is that her main constituency is not prepared to function “on their own,” as independent citizens. Her second suggestion is that the cold-hearted Republicans are simply announcing, “We have ours, now it’s up to you to get yours.” She turns the president’s program into an expression of selfishness and meanness. A neat rhetorical trick, crudely executed.

As a response to the meanness she imputes to her opposition, Clinton rolls out the dearest deception in Democratic politicking.

This deception should have been unmasked by someone like Mr. Dooley: The fella what said that Patriotism is the last refuge of scoundrels unnerestimated th’ possibilities of Compassion.

First, a bit of condescension from our Wellesley College valedictorian, Yale Law School graduate, First Lady of Arkansas, and then of the U.S., and now Senator from New York, poured out before the technical students in Manchester: “We have sent a message to our young people that if you don’t go to college and you don’t have a high-paying job—something like a basketball player or an entertainer, or maybe someone in a corporation—that you’re thought less of in America.” *We* have sent a message? Not most of us. Most of us have come from families quite proud of such roots: born poor, taught to make something of ourselves, mostly without going to college. Still today, 72 percent of American adults do not have a college degree and about half have never even attended college.



John Dewey, father of the wrong kind of ‘liberalism’

Senator Clinton's comment could only be made by one who doesn't know any craftsmen, manual workers, or independent electricians and plumbers (who nowadays can bring in more than a hundred grand a year). Among the rest of us, many relatives have worked in the garment trades, steel mills, coal mines, and other pre-professional positions. In fact, the first few in our families to go to college thought themselves lucky to have escaped heavy lifting.

Watch again as, in her portrait of America, the senator once more teaches victimhood: "In 1970, the top 1 percent of households held roughly 9 percent of our nation's income. In 2005, they held 22 percent, the highest level since 1929." The problem is, the biggest jump in the income of the top 1 percent occurred . . . during the Clinton administration. In 1970 it was 9 percent, all right, but by the time the Clintons took office it had grown to 14 percent. Then, by the close of the two Clinton terms, the top 1 percent was raking in very close to 21 percent. Under Bush, the percentile dropped to 16 and then, by 2004, was up to 19 percent. I have not been able to confirm Senator Clinton's number of 22 percent (for 2005), but if it is accurate, the percentage under Bush is one point higher than under Bill Clinton.

Nearly all the statistics used rather shakily by Senator Clinton were aimed at her main preoccupations: painting many Americans as victims, and painting as their victimizers CEOs, corporations, and individual businesses operating overseas (which, these days, include many independent farmers). In writing about inequalities of income, she forgets that since 1970 vastly larger proportions of

- 1. *Level* the playing field, by bringing down the profits of drug companies and oil companies.
- 2. Get rid of incentives to invest overseas by *taxing all profits* made overseas, even those not brought back to America.
- 3. *Regulate* corporate governance with more government oversight and restrictions.
- 4. *Raise tax rates* to pre-Bush levels (the Clinton levels), and raise the tax rates of corporations. (She does not consider the likelihood that *higher rates* will actually bring in *lower revenues*, once alert people choose new investment strategies.)
- 5. Provide *universal access* to college education (guess who pays), and broaden pre-kindergarten education (which in most families parents love to provide themselves).
- 6. *Respect* those who do not go to college (as if most people don't).
- 7. *Increase* the minimum wage, *expand* union membership, and give unions more *power*. (These policies will boost employment and help the poor?)
- 8. *Provide* health care *for everyone* at an affordable cost. (Who will pay, with what impact on health costs, and how shall we cope with ever new technologies and new miracle medicines, at always higher prices?)
- 9. *Invest* in new technologies that launch new industries that provide millions of new jobs, as did the new telecom industries of the 1990s. Her favorite pick is "clean-energy technology." (As if government, rather than private venture capital, ignited new industries.)

Hillary Clinton's agenda is to portray three constants of left-wing magnetism: victims, oppressors, and the white knights of government.

women, especially married women, have entered the paid labor force. Since like tends to marry like, these much-encouraged achievements by women inevitably result in a sharp increase in inequality among families. When a policeman earning \$50,000 a year marries a wife earning about the same amount, their total income is \$100,000. When a mid-level executive earning \$100,000 marries a woman earning about the same, their family income now becomes \$200,000. Whereas before, the gap between the two family incomes was only \$50,000, it has now doubled to \$100,000.

In short, more education and higher-paying jobs for women must necessarily increase family inequality. Who would want to eradicate this source of inequality?

Yet Clinton's agenda is to portray three constants of left-wing magnetism: victims, oppressors, and the white knights of government. And so she comes to her point:

"One of the most crucial jobs of the next president is to define a new vision of economic fairness and prosperity for the 21st century, a vision for how we ensure greater opportunity for our next generation, and then to outline a strategy and then to implement it."

She offers nine policy proposals toward building her "we're all in it together" society. Her plan is too boring to lay out in detail, but here's a peek:

The senator seeks to reduce the federal deficit—but promises newer and bigger government programs. She promises to "save" Social Security—but refuses to change it, even on a voluntary basis, in a way that would immensely reduce both its future obligations and a huge, unnecessary bureaucracy. She promises to expand government-managed health care for everybody, by turning back the tax cuts on "upper-income Americans" and raising tax rates to the high levels of the Clinton years. (But these higher tax rates hurt almost everyone who paid income taxes, including "middle-income Americans.")

In short, the dream of economic reds is not a vision of an America driven forward by new entrepreneurs, new inventors, and those untamed "animal spirits" that are released by a good system of incentives. Rather, it is a vision of rule-making, curbs, limitations, bureaucratic selection among alternatives, new burdens on the private sector—and larger powers unwisely given to the federal government. While Senator Clinton calls her vision "progressive," most of us would call it "regressive." Economic reds are still mesmerized by the imaginary powers that they attribute to the motherly, "caring" state—but, fortunately, this illusion is harder to sell than it was in earlier, less experienced generations.

NR

A Sweeping Presidential Power

On Lewis Libby and pardons

BYRON YORK

CLAIR GEORGE knows pardons. The former chief of the CIA's clandestine operations, George was convicted in early December 1992 of two counts of lying to Congress in connection with the Iran-contra affair. Two weeks later, on Christmas Eve, outgoing president George H. W. Bush pardoned George, along with former defense secretary Caspar Weinberger, former national security adviser Robert McFarlane, and three others.

Now, George is watching the case of Lewis "Scooter" Libby, the former chief of staff to Vice President Dick Cheney, who in March was convicted of perjury and obstruction of justice in the CIA leak matter. "I think he should be pardoned," George says of Libby. "I don't quite know what it was that he lied about. But I'm not quite sure in my own trial what I lied about."

That's one similarity in two quite different cases. But not the only one: "My case was highly politicized, also," says George, who was pursued by the legendarily monomaniacal independent counsel Lawrence Walsh, who issued his most famous indictment, of Weinberger, four days before the 1992 presidential election. "Democrats decided that they wanted something to happen at that period, and I drew the short straw," George says.

The pardon ended George's legal troubles. But so far George W. Bush has not given any public signals that he intends to follow his father's example and save Libby from jail. "The president feels terribly for Scooter," White House spokeswoman Dana Perino said after a judge ruled that Libby must begin serving a 30-month sentence in the next few weeks. But Perino added that Libby "still has the right to appeal, and therefore the president will continue not to intervene in the judicial process." What is not clear is whether the president might be prepared to intervene if Libby is denied his emergency request to stay out of jail while the appeal of his conviction is considered. There are knowledgeable sources who believe the president would step in to keep Libby out of jail while that larger appeal goes on, but Bush himself has not said a word.

Why would the president not intervene? Perhaps he worries that a pardon would provoke unrelenting attacks from Democratic leaders in Congress. (It undoubtedly would.) Perhaps he worries that he would appear to be pandering to those in the Republican base who are demanding a pardon. Or perhaps he just thinks a pardon at this stage would be the wrong thing to do.

Whatever the case, the one thing a pardon would not do would be to violate the letter or the spirit of what the Founding Fathers intended when they gave the president the power to pardon, to

commute sentences, and to offer mercy in other forms. A number of presidents in the past have faced problems similar to George W. Bush's. And they weren't hesitant to use the pardon power when they needed it.

'TOO SANGUINARY AND CRUEL'

Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution states that the president "shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment." Other than the impeachment exception, the pardon power is absolute and unreviewable; neither Congress nor the courts can overturn a president's decision. "The power is broad and has no limits, except those that are self-imposed," says Douglas Berman, an Ohio State University law professor who has done extensive research on pardons.

Why such power? The criminal-justice system at the time the Constitution was written had considerably fewer protections for defendants than now, and the Founders believed there should be a safety valve for defendants who found themselves with no recourse to seek relief. "The criminal code of every country partakes so much of necessary severity," wrote Alexander Hamilton in Federalist 74, "that without an easy access to exceptions in favor of unfortunate guilt, justice would wear a countenance too sanguinary and cruel."

But the point wasn't mercy alone; the Founders also intended that the pardon power be used for distinctly political purposes. George Washington pardoned the men who had taken part in the Whiskey Rebellion. Thomas Jefferson pardoned those convicted under the Alien and Sedition Acts. Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson granted amnesty to Confederate soldiers. Warren G. Harding pardoned prisoners held under World War I espionage laws. Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter pardoned Vietnam draft dodgers.

In recent years, the pardon power has fallen into disuse—or, in the case of Bill Clinton, misuse. For his first years in office, Clinton mostly ignored his pardon power. Margaret Love, the attorney who headed the Justice Department's pardons office from 1990 to 1997, points out that for the first seven and a half years of his presidency, Clinton "pardoned less generously than any president since John Adams." Then, at the end of his time in office, Clinton got to work, issuing what was undoubtedly the worst series of pardons in history. He infamously pardoned the fugitive tax-evading financier Marc Rich (whose attorney was one Lewis Libby), a number of Puerto Rican terrorists, and Susan McDougal, his old Whitewater partner who went to jail rather than answer the question of whether Clinton testified truthfully at her fraud trial.

The ensuing controversy proved one last black mark on Clinton's record. The public didn't want to hear anything more about pardons for a while, and it is not a surprise that when George W. Bush entered office, he waited nearly two years before issuing his first pardons. Even when he began to exercise the power, the pardons he chose to give were quite minor and totally non-controversial. There was the postal worker, addicted to drugs, who had stolen \$10.90 from the mail many years ago and went on to go straight and lead an exemplary life. There was the moonshiner who was convicted in 1962. And the auto mechanic who rolled back odometers on used cars ten years earlier.

Clinton aside, the decline of pardons is not a big surprise. "The

opportunity for defendants to get relief from a court is greater than it was in the Founders' era, or even 50 years ago," says Berman. "The need for executive mercy in extreme cases is diminished by the fact that there are so many other opportunities for defendants to appeal a perceived wrong." A president can quite reasonably argue that a defendant has had plenty of chances in the justice system and does not require a presidential pardon.

Even when the president decides to issue a pardon in a case of some rather ordinary crime, the Justice Department establishes standards that cases must meet to merit mercy. (The president does not have to follow the department's recommendations, but he usually does.) A certain period of time must have passed since the pardon recipient served his sentence. He must convince the department that he regrets his actions. He must have engaged in good works since his case ended.

CRIMINAL DIFFERENCES

That's not the kind of pardon on the table in the Libby case. "It's beside the point for people to be talking about whether the Justice Department regulations apply or not," says Margaret Love. "If [Bush] pardoned [Libby] now, it would be a different kind of pardon from the ordinary pardon." It would be more along the lines of what George H. W. Bush chose to do during the Iran-contra

the men involved. The president took the opportunity to issue a full-throated condemnation not only of Walsh but of what his investigation had done to this country:

The prosecutions of the individuals I am pardoning represent what I believe is a profoundly troubling development in the political and legal climate of our country: the criminalization of policy differences. These differences should be addressed in the political arena, without the Damocles sword of criminality hanging over the heads of some of the combatants. The proper target is the president, not his subordinates; the proper forum is the voting booth, not the courtroom. . . . It is my hope that the action I am taking today will begin to restore these disputes to the battleground where they properly belong.

Well, it was a nice thing to hope.

AT LAST, A RESPITE?

With the CIA leak affair, today's President Bush is facing a case at least as politicized as Iran-contra, and perhaps even stranger: In Libby's trial, the prosecutor never offered any evidence that the crime said to be at the heart of the matter ever actually occurred. The course of the case defied rational explanation from Day One.

Now that Libby has been sentenced, if the president were to

If Bush pardoned Libby, it would be along the lines of what George H. W. Bush chose to do during the Iran-contra matter.

matter, when the White House faced a zealous, indefatigable prosecutor pursuing a case that stemmed from profound differences of opinion about the conduct of U.S. foreign policy.

By the end of 1992, members of the first Bush administration had long felt that independent counsel Walsh had run a highly politicized investigation. Walsh's "October surprise"—the indictment of Weinberger on the Friday before the presidential election—confirmed what everyone already knew about the prosecutor. Just in case anyone had any doubts, Walsh even helpfully included in the Weinberger indictment evidence which he claimed undercut George H. W. Bush's testimony in the case.

The indictment was too much for the outgoing president. Weinberger got his pardon without ever facing trial; others were at different stages of the investigation. Clair George, for example, had already undergone one trial—it ended with a hung jury—and then a second, at which he was convicted.

When President Bush issued the pardons, he included a long and sometimes passionate message explaining his action. Weinberger was a brilliant and dedicated public servant who contributed enormously to the United States' victory in the Cold War, the president wrote. Beyond that, each of those pardoned, Bush continued, deserved clemency for other reasons as well: They were motivated by patriotism; they did not seek to profit from their actions; they had long records of service to their country; and they had already paid a heavy price in legal fees and damage to careers.

But the pardon declaration was much more than a testimonial to

intervene, he would have several options. He could pardon Libby entirely, which would simply wipe the case away. He could commute all or part of Libby's sentence, canceling the jail term, for example, while leaving the \$250,000 fine imposed on Libby as part of the sentence. (In that case, Libby's conviction would stand, although he wouldn't have to go to jail.) Or he could choose yet another option, offering Libby what is called a "respite," which is a delay of the imposition of the jail sentence. That way, Libby, while still facing jail time, could remain free while pursuing his appeal.

Whatever he does, or doesn't, do, the president doesn't have to offer any explanation for his action. But it seems likely that if he did choose to intervene, he, like his father before him, would want to make a statement about the culture of criminal investigation that produced the CIA leak affair. "One could argue that it is a uniquely political crime, or certainly a uniquely political prosecution, so it's not inappropriate for President Bush to provide a politicized relief," says Douglas Berman. "You might make an argument to the effect of, 'Look, this whole thing is a byproduct of the undue second-guessing that goes on whenever an administration makes tough choices.'"

Although many Democrats would undoubtedly protest, such a statement would make a convincing case for the president's supporters, and maybe some on the other side as well. Like Clair George. "I'm a registered Democrat, an opponent of the war, and I'm not a happy camper under this administration," George says. "But this is ridiculous."

NR

The Ethical Case Against Withdrawal From Iraq

A matter urgently to consider

JASON LEE STEORTS

DEBATE over whether America should withdraw from Iraq has turned primarily on strategic questions. But one need not be a utopian—or, more dreaded still, a “Wilsonian”—to see that not all foreign-policy questions are strategic. Almost everyone, conservative or liberal, believes that ethical claims restrict to one degree or another the means by which a government may pursue its foreign-policy ends. (If not, the massive and indiscriminate slaughter of civilians would be morally permissible in the pursuit even of non-vital interests.) There may also be cases—though this is more controversial—in which ethical claims are sufficient in their own right to decide a policy.

So it is, I believe, with Iraq. Withdrawal of U.S. forces would in all likelihood be a strategic disaster. But a powerful case can be made that it would also violate a duty America owes Iraq; that the duty alone gives us reason enough to stay; and that conservatives and liberals should be able to agree on this point.

The duty at issue is adumbrated in the claim that, were the U.S. to quit Iraq, sectarian genocide (or some lesser form of mass murder) would ensue. As prediction, this warning is highly plausible, given the incipient balkanization of mixed Iraqi neighborhoods and the great profusion of blood let therein. As ethics, the warning rests on an unstated premise that America has an obligation not to abandon Iraq to genocide.

This premise leaves unexplained the source of the obligation it contains. That lack of specificity in turn invites dissent from a certain type of conservative. Not all conservatives seek to minimize the role of moral obligation in foreign policy, but those who do so seek tend to call themselves conservatives. Such conservatives may think they detect, underlying the claim that the U.S. must prevent Iraqi genocide, the more sweeping claim that the U.S. must spend blood and treasure pursuing morally desirable outcomes, regardless of whether doing so advances American interests. If so, they are mistaken. The ethical case against withdrawal can be made without reference to any broader duty to choose ends for their moral worth.

This is so, first, because America is the cause of the Iraqi maelstrom. No matter what good—strategic or moral—has come or may yet come from toppling Saddam Hussein’s regime, one cannot dispute that our decision to do so, and our subsequent mishandling of the occupation, created the vacuum into which Salafist

and Khomeinist extremisms have been drawn, bringing with them an access of barbarity. This obvious fact implies a specific and narrow duty to repair the damage we have done. The average kindergarten could give a perfectly intelligible account of the operative moral principle here: When you make a mess, you clean it up; when you break something, you fix it; etc. The average congressman’s capacity for moral reasoning may well be less developed.

It is ethically irrelevant whether the violence that Saddam’s overthrow unleashed would have happened sooner or later anyway (for example, following an Iraqi coup). This is irrelevant for the same reason that it does not matter, when I burn your house down today, that a lightning strike would have turned it to ash tomorrow. Nor is our responsibility for the state of affairs in Iraq simply absolved if the war was a justified response to an intolerable threat. In no case does the justification of a war indemnify one against all moral considerations, and the relevant considerations at this stage of this war compel us to ask whether it is right for America to midwife a genocide (or, at the very least, to risk doing so).

DISCRETIONARY WAR, JUST WAR

Those who seek to minimize the role of morality in foreign policy may object that all wars have unfortunate consequences, that these consequences cannot be foreseen, and that it is morally unnecessary or practically impossible, or both, for the United States to accept a general obligation to repair the damages of war whenever it fights.

The force of such reasoning is attenuated in this case by the enormity of withdrawal’s possible consequences. It is also attenuated because the Iraq War was, in an important sense, discretionary. Had Saddam Hussein dispatched agents to detonate a bomb in Times Square, the U.S. could not reasonably have responded other than by declaring war. So, too, if the U.S. had acquired intelligence proving that Saddam intended such an attack. In these scenarios, the suffering of the Iraqi people would have fallen solely on Saddam’s shoulders.

The *casus belli* of the actual Iraq War was not nearly so clear-cut. It is true that Saddam’s history of WMD possession and his ties to terrorism posed a threat. But it is also true that he did not commit or threaten any particular aggression to which the toppling of his regime was a response. The U.S. might reasonably have tried to reduce or deter his threat in a variety of ways, of which war might (or might not) have been the most prudent. (To imagine how one alternative might have looked, compare the Iraq War with the way President Bush has, so far, addressed the Iranian nuclear threat. I do not believe such an approach would have worked in Iraq, and do not expect it to work in Iran. But it is not self-evidently unreasonable.) We did choose war, and the Iraqis do suffer; and while blame for this still falls largely on Saddam (it was he, after all, who provoked us to arms) responsibility for Iraq’s fate also attaches to us, for exercising our discretion as we did.

I believe there is no contradiction between this view and the belief that discretionary war can, under certain conditions, be just. In so saying, I break with traditional just-war theory, which, to my mind, cannot offer satisfactory guidance when confronting the potential convergence of terrorism, rogue states, and WMD. The traditional view, in its most common modern interpretation,

requires that force be used only as a last resort in responding to—or, more controversially, preempting—specific aggression. The threat posed by a regime such as Saddam’s, by contrast, is general: There is no way of anticipating particular acts of aggression, or even of knowing at what point all measures short of war have failed to dispel the general danger. The traditional view, as I have outlined it, would thus rule out war in such a case (which is why many just-war theorists, probably a majority, have held the Iraq War to be unjust).

Yet I see no reason to think that a government can never be morally obligated to protect its citizens from such threats; nor do I think a government can always know which policies will offer adequate protection and which not; nor still do I think that, in cases where preventive war clearly seems to offer the best protection, it will be possible to demonstrate that the probability of success by other means is so low that a government is strictly compelled to wage war. More simply: The justification of war under conditions of great uncertainty cannot aspire to syllogistic precision. Grave but nonspecific dangers may present a government with a range of permissible action, including war; and while no *particular* action is obligatory, the government may nonetheless be obligated to choose one action or another as wisely as it can.

If liberals took their rhetoric seriously, they would recognize that their moral opposition to *starting* this war is consistent with the view that there are compelling moral reasons to *continue* it.

If I am wrong, and discretionary war cannot be just, then it is all the easier to see that we are accountable for what we have done in Iraq. If I am right, and discretionary war can be just, it does not follow that the ethics governing it are identical to those governing warfare of a more traditional sort. In particular, a country waging discretionary war ought to feel special concern for the consequences of its choice upon the enemy country. Determination to prevent the war from inflicting severe or long-term damage may even be a necessary condition of its justification. I believe that some such principle shapes our intuitions about Iraq. It is why many who advocated the war on strategic grounds felt compelled to note that it would also liberate an oppressed people from tyranny. It is also why the tragedies of post-war Iraq contribute mightily to the feeling that the war was not just.

Even those conservatives who are generally hostile to “nation building” can admit the unique moral status of discretionary war with a minimum of damage to their principles. There is no contradiction between the following propositions: (1) In a war with a classic *casus belli*, we may say “to hell with them” upon the cessation of fighting; and (2) the Iraq War involved us in a special duty whose discharge requires our continuing presence in Iraq. For that matter, there is no contradiction between (1) the belief that the Iraq War, or the decision to occupy Iraq, was a strategic mistake and (2) the belief that strategic mistakes can create duties.

THE MIND OF MODERN LIBERALS

Of course, if anyone should need no convincing that withdrawal would be unethical, it is modern liberals. For it is they who, in their rhetoric, advocate the most sweeping ethics-based restrictions on the conduct of foreign policy. The *record* of modern liberalism is another story, as witness its penchant for defending tyrants, from totalizing ideologues such as Stalin and Mao to machete-wielding, “anti-colonialist” jungle thugs. Where war is concerned, however, liberal impulses are consistently pacifistic. The post-Vietnam Left looks upon all war as morally suspect for the reason that it maims and kills innocent people. So deep does this feeling run in liberal bones that the Left has opposed using force even against regimes which flagrantly violate human rights, and even when overwhelming strategic reasons to topple these regimes have emerged. (The most obvious recent case is the adulteress- and homosexual-murdering Taliban.)

If liberals took their rhetoric seriously, the politicians aligned most closely with the pacifist Left—Nancy Pelosi being the paradigmatic example—would suffer insomnia each night as they contemplated the probable human cost of U.S. failure in Iraq. They would recognize that their moral opposition to *starting* this war—or even a universalized opposition to starting any war—is consistent with the view that there are compelling moral reasons to

continue it. More: that if the war was unjust, we have a unique interest in minimizing its harms, just as one feels a special obligation of kindness toward a person one has offended.

Instead we have Mrs. Pelosi voting with the majority of her caucus for immediate withdrawal.

These votes would be defensible, and consistent with liberal principles, if it were true either that the U.S. could do nothing to win the war, or that pulling out of Iraq would—cue *deus ex machina*—improve its security. In the latter case, withdrawal would be morally and not just strategically desirable; in the former, we would have no alternative but to withdraw and feel a guilt commensurate to the weight of the resultant catastrophe. Neither of these claims is plausible, or borne out by recent events (there is a reason the Iraqi government is begging us to stay). This may be why Pelosi and her Democrats make no argument for them.

Their apparent indifference to the consequences of their votes only highlights their immorality: for the case that withdrawal *would* destroy Iraq is a compelling one, and in any event it is the advocate of the new policy who must prove that it will not come at an unbearable cost. The most charitable thing that can be said of the Democratic majority is that it is morally thoughtless, in which case it is committing the political equivalent of criminal negligence. If it has its way and Iraq survives, it will have been lucky, not good. And if, as is more probable, our worst fears come true, then it will have been something else altogether.

NR

HELD

CANDIDATE MCCAIN

God knows he's been around the block,
From Hanoi's Hilton to the lock
He thought he had on Bush's base.
Just yesterday he joined the chase
With Hillary; but now the bus
Reporters crammed and some of us
Disported in (not me, I swear!)
Is bringing up the derriere.

—W. H. VON DREELE



"This way, maybe we'll get a better class
of illegal alien."



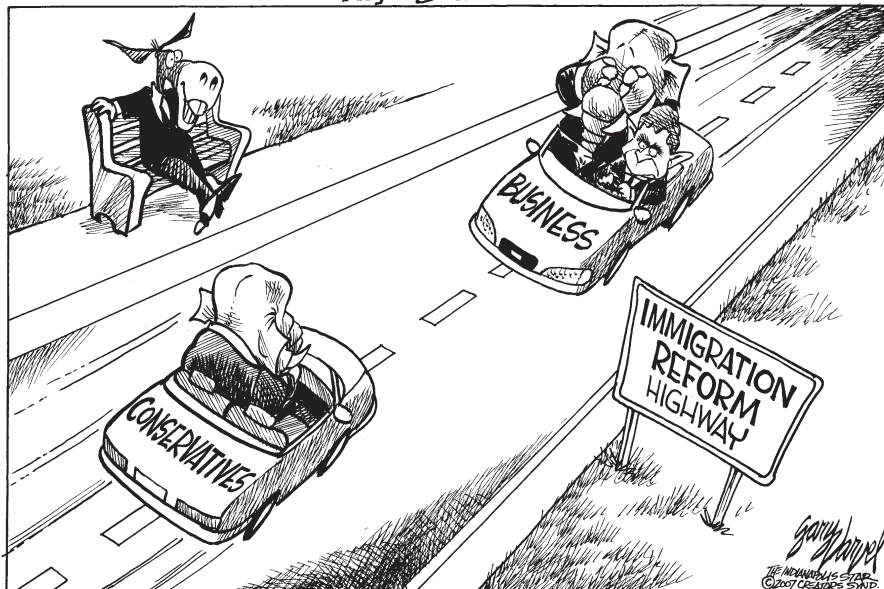
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the long view

ROB LONG

Transcript from *Larry King Live* June 27, 2008

LARRY KING: "From Atlanta, Georgia! Hello!"

CALLER: "Hi Larry, hi William!"

PRINCE OF WALES: "Hullo!"

LARRY KING: "Do you have a question for the future king of England?"

CALLER: "Um, yeah, Larry. First, I want to wish him all the happiness in the world with his upcoming marriage.

I myself am part of an interfaith marriage—my husband is Methodist and I'm Baptist—and so I know how stressful that can be."

LARRY KING: "Lemme ask you, William—you like 'William'? Or 'Wills'? Your mom called you 'Wills'?"

PRINCE OF WALES: "William is fine."

LARRY KING: "Sad day. Who doesn't remember exactly where they were when they heard the tragic news?"

PRINCE OF WALES: "Yes."

LARRY KING: "I think I was at the doctor's."

PRINCE OF WALES: "Ah."

LARRY KING: "So! How did your grandma react to the news of your engagement?"

PRINCE OF WALES: "Well, of course, it was sort of a surprise to her. She didn't know the family, of course. And there was some initial resistance."

LARRY KING: "The religion thing and that whole bit?"

PRINCE OF WALES: "Right. Of course, when we told her that the most popular name for a baby boy in Britain is Mohammed—"

LARRY KING: "Did she plotz?"

PRINCE OF WALES: "I'm sorry?"

LARRY KING: "Helen Mirren is a dear friend. Wonderful actress! A star! She could do 'plotz' in the movie, I'm telling you."

PRINCE OF WALES: "My grandmother

understands that Britain is changing, and that the monarchy must change with it."

LARRY KING: "Question: What's with the hats?"

PRINCE OF WALES: "I'm sorry?"

LARRY KING: "Tomorrow night! Ryan Seacrest, host of *American Idol*! From Schaumburg, Illinois, hello!"

CALLER: "I'd like to ask King William if it was love at first sight?"

LARRY KING: "Great question. Bill, was it an eyes-locking-across-a-room type thing? Did you just like the way she looked and think, hey, I've got to get close to this gal?"

PRINCE OF WALES: "Well, of course, I'm not really sure what she looks like."

LARRY KING: "Right! The robe and the veil and the thing! I forgot!"

PRINCE OF WALES: "Her father owns a small sweet-shop in Ealing. We approached him through the imam that handled my father's conversion to Islam, and that was that."

LARRY KING: "Fascinating! The way royalty works! So you don't know what she looks like at all?"

PRINCE OF WALES: "No, Larry, I don't."

LARRY KING: "Spooky! 'Cause you don't know what you're getting! Could be an uggo!"

PRINCE OF WALES: "Larry, the key here is to reach out to the very, very large Muslim population in Britain and let them know that they belong to Britain, too, that Britain is changing and adapting and embracing its wonderful new Muslim citizens."

LARRY KING: "Are they nuts, though? With the bombs and the whatnot?"

PRINCE OF WALES: "No, no, no. It's really just a cultural assimilation thing."

LARRY KING: "Well, I'll tell you. Seeing those photographs of all of you up there at Windsor Castle, and your fiancée wearing the black hood, I mean, you don't get much more assimilated than that!"



PRINCE OF WALES: "Right, Larry. The message the royal family is sending to the British Muslim population is, you're part of the family now. We're making one of your own the Queen."

LARRY KING: "Even if she's got one of those little mustaches."

PRINCE OF WALES: "Even if she's got one of those little mustaches."

LARRY KING: "Lemme ask you. Could you have chosen to marry a Jew?"

PRINCE OF WALES: "Hey! Larry! First things first, okay? Let's not go nuts."

LARRY KING: "From Loudon, Tennessee, hello!"

CALLER: "Hi Larry, hey Bill—quick question: Are you going to be doing all that Muslim-law stuff over there?"

LARRY KING: "Thank you, caller. So, Prince, is it veils? Friday prayers? That whole thing?"

PRINCE OF WALES: "No, no. Obviously, just like in America, everyone in Britain is free to worship as they please."

LARRY KING: "Tell that to the Christians in this country! Sometimes I wonder, my friend. Sometimes I wonder."

PRINCE OF WALES: "The family is sort of split, some of them retaining their traditional faith in the old Church of England, and some of them have just gradually migrated over to Islam."

LARRY KING: "And the veils?"

PRINCE OF WALES: "Well, Princess Anne wears the full burka."

LARRY KING: "So there's an upside."

PRINCE OF WALES: "Right. And then there's Dad's beard, which bothers some people, I'm told. But it's not as if we're fanatic or anything."

LARRY KING: "Good to hear."

PRINCE OF WALES: "Obviously, Fergie, the Duchess of York, will have to be stoned to death as a prostitute."

LARRY KING: "Seriously?"

PRINCE OF WALES: "And if Princess Margaret were still alive, she would be beheaded for honor crimes."

LARRY KING: "Holy moly."

PRINCE OF WALES: "But this is all part of getting Britain into modern times."

LARRY KING: "It's a break-some-eggs-for-the-omelet deal."

PRINCE OF WALES: "Exactly."

LARRY KING: "Next! Suzanne Somers rebuilds her Malibu home!"

In a Strange Land

JOHN J. MILLER

WHEN Robert A. Heinlein opened his Colorado Springs newspaper on April 5, 1958, he read a full-page ad demanding that the Eisenhower administration stop testing nuclear weapons. The science-fiction author was flabbergasted. He called for the formation of the Patrick Henry League and spent the next several weeks writing and publishing his own polemic that lambasted “Communist-line goals concealed in idealistic-sounding nonsense” and urged Americans not to become “soft-headed.”

Then Heinlein made an important professional decision. He quit writing the manuscript he had been working on—eventually it would become one of his best-known books, *Stranger in a Strange Land*—and started work on a new novel. *Starship Troopers* was published the next year, and it quickly became perhaps the most controversial sci-fi tale of all time. Critics labeled Heinlein everything from a Nazi to a racist. “The ‘Patrick Henry’ ad shocked ‘em,” he wrote many years later. “*Starship Troopers* outraged ‘em.”

Almost half a century later, the book continues to outrage, shock—and awe. It still has critics, but also armies of admirers. As a coming-of-age story about duty, citizenship, and the role of the military in a free society, *Starship Troopers* certainly speaks to modern concerns. The U.S. armed services frequently put it on recommended-reading lists. (“For today’s Sailor, this novel is extremely worthwhile,” says a Navy website.) Director Paul Verhoeven turned it into an unfaithful movie in 1997, and a new edition, released last year, features a sand-and-choppers cover that looks curiously like a scene from Iraq. There’s even a grassroots campaign to have a next-generation, Zumwalt-class destroyer

named the USS *Robert A. Heinlein*.

Heinlein’s influence reaches far beyond a single book, of course. He was the first sci-fi author to make the bestseller lists, the winner of multiple awards, and the inspiration for a legion of protégés and imitators whose own volumes now weigh down bookstore shelves. He was not the most accomplished literary stylist in his genre, but he spun a good yarn, grappled with big ideas, and left an enduring imprint on a popular field. He was arguably the preeminent sci-fi author of the 20th century. One of the key differences between him and the two men who might also compete for this title—Isaac Asimov and Arthur C. Clarke—is that whereas they were political liberals, Heinlein was a man of the Right.

Robert Anson Heinlein was born in Butler, Mo., on July 7, 1907. (His centenary is now upon us.) Growing up, he became an avid reader of everything from Mark Twain to Jack London. As biographer Bill Patterson has pointed out, sci-fi pioneer H. G. Wells made a big impression—and not just because he wrote about Martian tripods in *The War of the Worlds*. Young Heinlein picked up Wells’s twin devotion to science and socialism.

The boy followed his brother to the Naval Academy and graduated high in his class in 1929. Seasickness and other health problems plagued him, however, and five years later he left the Navy with a medical disability. He settled in Los Angeles and threw himself into left-wing politics, joining the campaign to elect the muckraking novelist Upton Sinclair to California’s governorship in 1934. This effort failed, but Heinlein remained a leader among local Democrats. He ran for the state assembly from Hollywood in 1938 and lost the primary.

There is some mystery in Heinlein’s early biography, partly because Heinlein

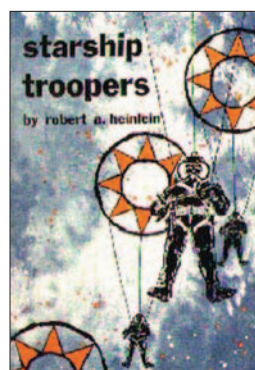
liked it that way. Virtually nothing is known about a short first marriage, and fairly little is known about a second one that lasted from 1932 to 1947. Only in recent years have researchers come to appreciate the full extent of his radical activism. What’s clear is that shortly after his 1938 political defeat, he tried his hand at professional writing. A first novel, *For Us, the Living*, was not published until a posthumous edition came out in 2003, but he kept at it. Following World War II, his career blasted off.

For a while, Heinlein concentrated on short stories for the pulps and short novels for teenage boys. As with all great science fiction, his constantly speculated about technology, social progress, good government, and so on. By the early 1950s, married for a third and final time, he was

drifting away from his left-wing past and adopting a new brand of politics. In *The Puppet Masters*, a 1951 novel meant for an adult audience, slug-like alien parasites land in Iowa and take over the minds of Americans. It falls upon a secret agency within the U.S. government to fight back, and the fate of the world hangs in the balance. *The Puppet Masters* may be read as a classic invasion-of-the-body-snatchers story—and also as an anti-Communist metaphor during the era of Alger Hiss, the Rosenbergs, and Joe McCarthy.

The 1950s were probably Heinlein’s most prolific period, and the decade culminated with the publication of *Starship Troopers*. The story focuses on Juan Rico as he graduates from

high school, joins the space marines, and wages interplanetary war on a belligerent race of “bugs” whose ant-like collectivism makes them natural-born Communists. Most of the story focuses on Rico’s boot camp—*Starship Troopers* is dedicated “to all sergeants [sic] anywhere who have labored to make men out of boys.” The basic training is both physical and intellectual, with readers treated to a colorful denunciation of “the disheveled



old mystic of *Das Kapital*, turgid, tortured, confused, and neurotic, unscientific, illogical, this pompous fraud Karl Marx."

One of the main non-ideological complaints about *Starship Troopers* involves the plotting—too much talk and not enough shoot-'em-up scenes against those extraterrestrial creepy-crawlies. Yet the richness of the novel lies in these more thought-provoking sections, where Heinlein inserts miniature monologues that sound like outtakes from Zell

Miller's GOP convention address. "My mother says that violence never settles anything," comments one character. A teacher who doubles as Heinlein's mouthpiece then pounces: "Violence, naked force, has settled more issues in history than has any other factor, and the contrary opinion is wishful thinking at its worst. Breeds that forget this basic truth have always paid for it with their lives and freedoms."

For those with delicate sensibilities—the type of people who would pay for newspaper ads that demand nuclear-test bans—this is sheer bombast. But Heinlein doesn't stop there. He goes on to

describe a society in which citizens gain the right to vote through military service. His conjectures about "the decadence and collapse" of 20th-century democracies are also designed to raise liberal hackles: "Those noble experiments failed because the people had been led to believe that they could simply vote for whatever they wanted . . . and get it, without toil, without sweat, without tears." The notion that you can't get something for nothing would become a major theme for Heinlein.

Detractors called Heinlein a fascist and a militarist—a strange charge, given that he was also an outspoken critic of con-

ROBERT A. HEINLEIN wasn't the only author to write sci-fi novels that resonate with conservatives—the genre is full of books that lean rightward. Here's a list of recommended titles, drawn from my own experience as well as suggestions from readers of NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE.

We, by Yevgeny Zamyatin: Soviet censors banned this landmark novel shortly after it was written in 1921 because they correctly interpreted its portrayal of the "One State" as a hammering critique of their own emerging totalitarianism. Two better-known dystopian successors—Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* and George Orwell's *1984*—stand upon its broad shoulders.

Out of the Silent Planet, *Perelandra*, and *That Hideous Strength*, by C. S. Lewis: Before he wrote the *Chronicles of Narnia*, Lewis wrote this space trilogy, which blends interplanetary adventure with subtle theology. The books were started partly in response to Lewis's concern that (in his words) "a 'scientific' hope of defeating death is a real rival to Christianity."

The Weapon Shops of Isher, by A. E. van Vogt: In this 1951 novel by a sci-fi pioneer, the only check on imperial power is a network of weapon shops whose motto is "the right to buy weapons is the right to be free." But beware of invisibility shields!

Fahrenheit 451, by Ray Bradbury: Often hailed as a simple cautionary tale

about book-burning censorship, this perennial favorite of librarians is really about much more, from the perils of a dumbed-down culture to the importance of preserving traditions. Russell Kirk called it "a passionate and tender and terrifying description of a democratic despotism." Aficionados of the book will appreciate *Match to Flame*, a brand-new volume edited by Donn Albright that collects precursors to Bradbury's 1953 masterpiece.

A Canticle for Leibowitz, by Walter M. Miller Jr.: Just as Irish monks are said to have "saved Western civilization," the Catholic Church keeps tradition alive in the barbaric years following a nuclear apocalypse. The final section of this three-part novel, written in the 1950s, makes a powerful moral argument against euthanasia. Ironically, the author committed suicide in 1996.

"Harrison Bergeron," by Kurt Vonnegut Jr.: Although Vonnegut was a man of the Left, this tale is so conservative that NR reprinted it in 1965. The opener: "The year was 2081, and everybody was finally equal . . . due to the 211th, 212th, and 213th Amendments to the Constitution, and to the unceasing vigilance of agents of the United States Handicapper General." Coming in at just a little more than 2,000 words, this is a short-short story. "Harrison Bergeron" may be found

in *Welcome to the Monkey House*, a collection of Vonnegut's work.

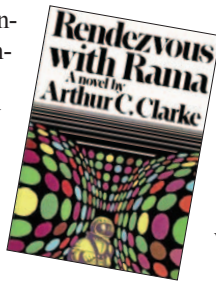
Rendezvous with Rama, by Arthur C. Clarke: A classic work of hard sci-fi—a subgenre that emphasizes technical accuracy and detail—this 1972 story focuses on the discovery of a derelict alien spacecraft. It turns out that modern science can't solve every enigma. Fans of tidy and conclusive endings will come away disappointed, others with much to ponder.

The Mote in God's Eye, by Larry Niven and Jerry Pournelle: It's hard to go wrong with Niven and Pournelle, whether they're writing separately or as a team. This 1974 novel of first contact carries lessons for conservative hawks and liberal doves. Heinlein called it "possibly the best science-fiction novel I have ever read." Other Niven-Pournelle collaborations

worth checking out include *Oath of Fealty*, about urban conflict in the future, and *Fallen Angels* (with a third co-author, Michael Flynn), which is a forerunner to Michael Crichton's anti-global-warming thriller *State of Fear*.

The Giver, by Lois Lowry: This powerful and disturbing book won the Newbery Medal for children's literature in 1994. Just beneath the surface of a seemingly utopian society lurks a menacing culture of death, built upon a foundation of euphemisms and lies.

—JOHN J. MILLER



scription. "If a country can't save itself through the volunteer service of its own free people, then I say: Let the damned thing go down the drain," he once said. As for labels, around the time *Starship Troopers* came out, he called himself "a pragmatic libertarian."

Heinlein certainly wasn't a conservative traditionalist. His most popular book, in terms of copies sold, was *Stranger in a Strange Land*—a paean to sexual liberation and an attack on organized religion. Published in 1961, it resonated with hippies and gave Heinlein a mass following. Yet the author, despite a lifelong interest in unusual family arrangements, remained aloof from the counterculture: In 1964, he and his wife Virginia were enthusiastically for Barry Goldwater. A few years later, according to *Robert A. Heinlein: A Reader's Companion*, he signed a magazine ad that supported U.S. military involvement in Vietnam.

In his recent book *Radicals for Capitalism*, Brian Doherty observes that "a youthful love for Heinlein's tales of rugged individualists often lies in the past of dedicated libertarian activists"—a statement that's possible in large measure because of the 1966 novel that many regard as Heinlein's greatest: *The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress*. The story takes place mostly within a lunar colony, where the residents grow restless under a command-and-control economy imposed by the Lunar Authority, a government that operates for the benefit of earthlings. "Here in Luna we're rich. Three million hardworking, smart, skilled people, enough water, plenty of everything, endless power, endless cubic," says one of the moon-dwelling Loonies. "What we don't have is a free market. We must get rid of the Authority!" A few pages later: "It strikes me as the most basic human right, the right to bargain in a free marketplace."

The Loonies rebel in ways that echo the American Revolution, such as declaring independence on July 4, 2076. There are battles, diplomatic missions, debates on hydroponic-food exports—plus lots of discussion about how societies ought to organize themselves. Heinlein makes

his distaste for taxes abundantly clear. There's even some chatter about immigration policy: "Luna has room . . . the mind cannot imagine the day when Luna would refuse another shipload of weary homeless." For a catchy slogan, the Loonies use "There ain't no such thing as a free lunch." Frequently expressed as the acronym "TANSTAAFL," the Milton Friedmansque phrase is probably the most famous line in Heinlein's large oeuvre.

Although idealistic, *The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress* steers clear of libertarian fantasyland. Heinlein is well aware that revolutions don't lead to utopia, and the successful lunar revolt is no different. By the novel's end, the moon's new government has rejected the innovations that Heinlein apparently believes it should have embraced: "Seems to be a deep instinct in human beings for making everything compulsory that isn't forbidden," complains the narrator, who consid-

ers lighting out for the asteroids. There's certainly no point in fighting human nature: "I long ago quit being disappointed in men for what they are not and never can be," says another character, expressing a sentiment that is nothing if not conservative.

The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress was Heinlein's last great work. He continued to write until his death in 1988, overcoming health problems to do it and engaging in politics when it seemed appropriate. Heinlein was an early backer of the Strategic Defense Initiative and, according to his friend and fellow sci-fi author Jerry Pournelle, he helped develop some of the language President Reagan used in his speech introducing the concept.

At the time, Reagan's domestic foes derided SDI as pure science fiction. To drive home the point, they even dubbed it "Star Wars." If Heinlein had lived to his 100th birthday—and witnessed recent advances in missile-defense technology—he might have smiled at their fulminations, and maybe even written a book about the subject.

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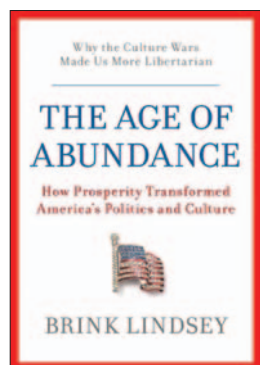
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The Great Consensus



The Age of Abundance: How Prosperity Transformed America's Politics and Culture, by Brink Lindsey
(HarperCollins, 400 pp., \$26.95)

MICHAEL BARONE

THINGS are better than you think. And that means you, NATIONAL REVIEW readers, among many others. That's the thesis of Brink Lindsey's bracing and refreshing *The Age of Abundance*, a look back on the way our economy has affected our culture over the past 60 years.

Joseph Schumpeter famously argued that market capitalism produces creative destruction, which in turn fuels political demands for the destruction of market capitalism itself. Brink Lindsey argues that market capitalism has produced cultural destruction, but that this has in turn fueled a "moral renewal," a process that is happening all around us if only we have eyes to see. It's an optimistic view, from a writer who is optimistic enough about life to have left a career as a trade lawyer to go to work for the libertarian Cato Institute. And it's a view that I think is mostly right.

One of the strengths of Lindsey's book is that he goes back in history, at least as

Mr. Barone is a senior writer for *U.S. News & World Report*, and author of the new book *Our First Revolution: The Remarkable British Upheaval That Inspired America's Founding Fathers*.

far as the length of his own life, and puts some important things in perspective. One is this: that we, the overwhelming majority of the American people, enjoy an economic abundance that was the lot of only a few, or none, in any human society that ever existed before. People need to be reminded of this. At the beginning of World War II one-quarter of Americans still lived on farms, and half of them were subsistence farmers. Electricity, refrigerators, washing machines, indoor plumbing: These things were far from universal. Air conditioning, as late as 1970, was enjoyed by only about 35 percent of Americans. Today most of those classified as being in poverty have it. The claim—one I hear repeatedly from the Left—that ordinary people were better off in 1973 than they are today is sheer hokum, founded on cooked statistics.

All this progress has been achieved thanks to the operation of (pretty much) free markets. But, as Lindsey notes, the liberals of our society started to notice poverty, even as it was disappearing; and they declared that it must be abolished by an ever-larger state. The poor, provided with huge infusions of tax dollars, would instruct us on how to lift people out of poverty. This idea, wacky in retrospect, was accorded great respect in its time (perhaps because the victims of law-sanctioned racial segregation had advised us correctly on how that problem must be ended). But it proved to be a dead end. An ever-larger state produced only moral and criminal chaos among the very underclass it was intended to benefit, along with a macroeconomy that provided us with something that Keynesian economists had told us was impossible: "stagflation," the combination of high inflation and low economic growth.

At the very same time, the economy of abundance was producing cultural creative destruction. Lindsey understands the strengths of the usually underappreciated middlebrow mass culture of the 1950s, but he also sees clearly how the efflorescence of abundance liberated Americans of different stripes to do their own thing. He contrasts the "summer of love" in San Francisco, when you were invited to "wear some flowers in your hair," with the dedication that same year of the tower of Oral Roberts University in Tulsa. In this contrast, he sees two competing and antagonistic cultural movements, the

"Aquarian awakening" and the "evangelical revival," both offshoots of the same economic abundance. In time, these two movements took over, in modulated ways, our two major political parties and restructured our politics. Under the last two presidents—both born in the initial Baby Boom year of 1946, both graduated from high school in the peak-SAT-scoring class of 1964, both with personal qualities that people on the other side of the cultural divide absolutely hate—this culture war has raged loudly. The MainStream Media have taken one side, and the New Media—talk radio, Fox News, the blogosphere—have taken the other.

Underneath this surface tumult, however, Lindsey sees more interesting things happening. Yes, he admits that the Aquarian awakening had terrible consequences: Freed from restraint, the underclass ghettos produced high numbers of out-of-marriage births and horrifying rates of crime. Society also saw a rise in divorce, and an overall coarsening of popular culture. If you let people make their own choices, a lot of them will make bad ones, and society will suffer. But here Lindsey's inherent optimism kicks in—and so does the advantage he has of surveying the scene from today's vantage point rather than that of 20 years ago. Divorce is down, he notes; so are births to teenage mothers and, he might have added, births to unmarried black women. Crime is way down, and so is welfare dependency: the major public policy successes of the 1990s, though he does not note (as a libertarian might have been expected to) that the policies which produced these results were not the product of federal-government or university-elite programs, but of initiatives taken by leaders of state and local government—notably, Wisconsin governor Tommy Thompson on welfare and New York mayor Rudolph Giuliani on crime.

I take this as an illustration that learning is cumulative: It builds up over one's own lifetime, and over the ongoing life of a society. Consider driving. In the course of one's lifetime, one learns to drive more safely and develop reflexes (of the kind that the 16-year-old driver cannot have) to avoid accidents. The same is true for society as a whole: Accident rates and death rates in auto accidents were horrifyingly higher in the 1930s, and even the 1960s, than they are today—partly

because we have learned to design cars to be safer (government has played a part here), and partly because older people have transmitted to younger ones the knowledge that they need to drive more safely. People can learn, and so can societies.

Lindsey argues that that is what has happened in America generally over the past several decades. We have learned to temper the freedom that abundance granted us with a self-restraint that enables us in the long run to live lives that are fuller and more rewarding. "The experience of recent years," he writes, "has made it clear that the center did hold. It takes the form of today's *modus vivendi*, a libertarian synthesis of core middle-class values and inclusive tolerance." The "libertarian synthesis," he goes on, is "an unspoken and unloved compromise rather than a well-articulated and widely embraced consensus." On even the most divisive of political issues, abortion, we have reached a consensus that it should be allowed but should also be disfavored. People should be free to abort—and should be at least a little ashamed of doing so too. And he backs this up with statistics: Abortion rates have been declining since the mid-1980s. Americans are not ready to criminalize abortion again, but they are voting against it with their feet.

At the end of his book Lindsey pleads with the ideologues of both the Aquarian awakening and the evangelical revival to abandon their maximalist claims and champion instead the "libertarian synthesis" he says most Americans have already, however inarticulately, embraced:

[This synthesis] would be neither anti-corporate nor overly chummy with the K Street business lobby; it would maintain a commitment to noninflationary growth; it would support an ample safety net, but one focused on helping (rather than rendering permanently dependent) poor people and people in temporary need, not sloshing the money from one part of the middle class to another (in particular, the elderly); it would oppose corporate welfare; it would endorse vigorous environmental protection while rejecting green Luddism and refusing to accept that the command-and-control regulatory status quo is the final word on the subject; it would shed the Left's hostility to law enforcement and middle-class values while insisting that civil

liberties and social tolerance are accepted; and it would part company with all grand ideological pipe dreams in the realm of foreign affairs (including pacifism as well as neoconservative adventurism), insisting that American power is a positive force in the world that ought to be used cautiously.

I'm not quite ready to sign off on all this. I'm not so sure that what Lindsey describes as "neoconservative adventurism" is such a bad idea in a world in which, as he admits and describes in convincing detail, Islamist fascists are bent on inflicting horrifying damage on our society. But I do take his point that, as the economy proves increasingly abundant, Americans have been moving upward on a learning curve in reconciling the freedom to choose your cultural niche and indulge your preferred behavior with the responsibility of restraining your appetites and your conduct in a way that ultimately benefits your society and yourself. We do learn from experience—as individuals who are free, by virtue of abundance, to choose their own cultural niches; and as a society as well. **NR**

Triumph of The New

Prophet of Innovation: Joseph Schumpeter and Creative Destruction, by Thomas K. McCraw (Belknap, 736 pp., \$35)

NICK SCHULZ

EVERY few years, public interest in innovation and entrepreneurship undergoes something of a revival. We're in one of those periods.

Business pages brim with news of entrepreneurial returns to private equity firms and innovative financial engineering at hedge funds. A new wave of Internet start-ups, such as YouTube and

Mr. Schulz is a research fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and editor of the website *TCS Daily*.

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books, arts & manners

MySpace, reminds the public that entrepreneurs keep creating the “new new thing” that can augment or transform existing business models. A bull market for stocks is renewing interest in financial news and information. George Gilder is once again—we can be thankful—writing big-think pieces about innovation.

Several new books are targeted at readers hungry for a deeper understanding of entrepreneurship. Carl Schramm’s *The Entrepreneurial Imperative* makes a persuasive case for the importance of entrepreneurial dynamism to the long-run health of economies. (The Kauffman Foundation, of which Schramm is president, has done a great job in bolstering awareness of entrepreneurship.) *Capital Ideas Evolving*, by financial historian Peter L. Bernstein, explains how a new generation of financial entrepreneurs is harnessing academic theory to transform 21st-century Wall Street. There is even a movie: The stunning new film *The Call of the Entrepreneur* breathes cinematic life into a highly abstract concept.

All of these works find some of their inspiration in the writings of Joseph Schumpeter, the famous Austrian economist who is the subject of an extraordinary new biography. *Prophet of Innovation* by Thomas K. McCraw chronicles the life of one of the 20th century’s most original and insightful scholars.

Like his contemporary and frequent rival John Maynard Keynes, Schumpeter makes for a rich biographical subject. Keynes received the treatment he deserved from Lord Robert Skidelsky’s magisterial multi-volume biography. McCraw’s effort, similarly, is worthy of Schumpeter.

Schumpeter’s story was a rich pageant of both triumph and calamity. His life mirrored the capitalist process of incessant change and reinvention he sought to explicate. He was born in 1883 and lived through the implosion of imperial Europe, the Great Depression, two world wars, and the advent of the Cold War. He lived through a time when, as one historian put it, “the medieval and modern orders collided head-on.”

His own life was marked by similar tumult. Schumpeter moved many times throughout his life, ultimately settling in the United States for a distinguished career at Harvard. He experienced alternating periods of soaring financial success and humiliating indebtedness. And his scholarly output was immense: He publishing several major papers and books, including *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, which remains a popular classic to this day.

He was an unabashed, even shameless, Lothario who bedded scores of women before he settled down. “Settling down” for Schumpeter, however, comprised three marriages that included a period of bigamy.

Schumpeter was unusually close to his mother, Johanna, an independent-minded and restless woman who pushed her son to develop intellectually. Her death in 1926 would have been devastating enough for Schumpeter; but it coincided with the death of his beloved second wife Annie, who perished during the birth of their first child. The baby also died, four

hours after Schumpeter rushed him to a hospital after leaving his wife’s deathbed.

Schumpeter’s personal experiences molded his views about capitalism and politics and set him apart from some of his contemporaries. According to McCraw:

Compared to Keynes, Schumpeter had no reason to think that life was something a

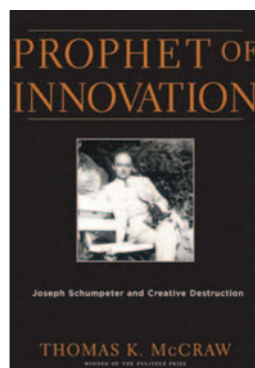
person could expect to enjoy automatically. It was one thing to grow up in Britain—stable, prosperous, and ever-victorious in its many wars—and quite another to be a child of the vanquished, and now vanished, Austria of Schumpeter’s youth. His own vision of life resembled his vision of capitalism as a perennial gale of creative destruction. . . . By the time he married [his third wife] Elizabeth Boody, he had lived in nine cities and five

countries (seven countries by today’s boundaries). He had relocated his household 23 times. No wonder his vision differed so thoroughly from that of the sedentary Keynes.

It was perhaps in part because of these circumstances that Schumpeter placed heavy emphasis on the importance of political stability. McCraw writes: “Because the maturing Schumpeter sensed that creative destruction in the economic sphere could be violently disruptive, he began to place a high premium on political order. He became convinced that the supplanting of one set of entrepreneurial elites by another could bring social unrest that might stall the capitalist engine.”

This concern for the destabilizing aspects of modern commercial capitalism is part of what marked him as a conservative, something he called himself even as it was unfashionable to do so. In 1986 John Kenneth Galbraith dubbed Schumpeter “the most sophisticated conservative of this century.” (Schumpeter famously and comically remarked on the intellectual flimsiness of some of his fellow conservatives that “when I see those who espouse my cause, I begin to wonder about the validity of my position.”)

Indeed, his life and his work speak to the disjunctions at the heart of conservatism, particularly modern American



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conservatism with its embrace of libertarianism. More than most economic systems, McCraw writes, capitalism is “distinctly oriented toward the future.” The combination of Schumpeter’s championing of such a forward-oriented system with his concern for established political order built an inherent tension into his scholarship and vision.

Schumpeter deepened our understanding of the entrepreneur in capitalist society and the nature of capitalism itself. He shared with Marx an intense interest in the dynamics of capitalism and, as McCraw puts it, “its ever-changing nature, whose only music was uproar.” His most lasting achievement was to demonstrate that capitalism is incomprehensible without an understanding of the role of entrepreneurs—the innovators who generate new products, forms, organizations, or brands. These “new combinations” challenge and ultimately undermine the established order; and, in capitalist societies, the process is repeated again and again. This economic swirl creates social and political stresses, but material progress is impossible without it.

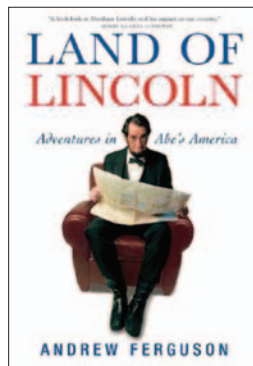
Until Schumpeter, economists paid little attention to entrepreneurship. His famous student, Nobel Prize-winner Paul Samuelson, said that Schumpeter “left behind the only kind of school appropriate to a scientific discipline—a generation of economic theorists who caught fire from his teaching.”

We can gauge the magnitude and scope of Schumpeter’s genius as we would that of any theorist: His vision seems better to reflect reality than that of many of his predecessors or contemporaries. This includes Keynes, whose brilliance is too often underappreciated by conservatives even as it is overstated by liberals.

Schumpeter’s achievement was difficult and two-fold: to describe the world both as it was and as it was becoming. Only great intellects are capable of such tasks. Given how much we have come to expect economic and technological change as a matter of course today, some of what Schumpeter prophesied in hindsight seems almost obvious. But that just shows how thoroughly the Schumpeterian vision has been absorbed. Indeed, Richard Nixon’s famous aphorism about Keynesianism would benefit from an innovative update: We’re all Schumpeterians now.

NR

Bestriding Our History



Land of Lincoln: Adventures in Abe's America, by Andrew Ferguson
(Atlantic Monthly, 304 pp., \$24)

DAVID HARSANYI

NO, not a gay Lincoln, or a racist Lincoln, or a warmongering Lincoln, or a big-government Lincoln, or—for that matter—a perfect Lincoln. In his new book *Land of Lincoln*, Andrew Ferguson offers us something far more fascinating than yet another reinterpretation of Honest Abe; what he treats us to is a sparkling tome about how Americans process their history—how they celebrate it, debate it, and (sometimes) impersonate it. Ferguson, a veteran conservative journalist, handles Lincoln’s America as any good reporter would: He tells a great story.

Ferguson estimates that there have already been nearly 14,000 books about Lincoln. And he would know: As a youngster, Ferguson was a member of Lincoln Nation. His father was a lawyer at a firm founded after the Civil War by the sole child of Abraham Lincoln to survive into adulthood. Ferguson grew up on Lincoln Street, as luck would have it; in his youth, photographs of the lanky icon hung on his wall.

Mr. Harsanyi, a columnist at the *Denver Post*, is author of the forthcoming *Nanny State: How Food Fascists, Teetotaling Do-Gooders, Priggish Moralists, and Other Boneheaded Bureaucrats Are Turning America into a Nation of Children* (Doubleday/Broadway).

Many of us can relate. I grew up in the Northeast, where our teachers taught us to venerate Lincoln’s memory. How could anyone challenge Lincoln’s place in our hearts? How could anyone loathe the Great Emancipator? Of course, plenty of folks do. It was a 2003 mêlée surrounding a statue erected at a Richmond, Va., park that led Ferguson to investigate Lincoln’s place among the people. Would-be Confederates protested the effigy: After all, how could a Virginian worth his salt sit by and allow Lincoln to (eternally) hang out in the former Confederate capital? You almost feel for them. Almost.

One of the first things we learn is that Lincoln haters are touchy—particularly when it comes to the subject of race. As Ferguson points out, most serious critics of Lincoln don’t want their “Abephorbia” to be confused with “Negrophobia.” Accordingly, they revel in pointing out that Lincoln was never really an abolitionist, but, in fact, a racist. (As if these allegations, even if true, would somehow shield neo-Confederates from their obnoxious views on race relations.)

The 16th president was, in fact, one of the most hated Americans of his time. Still, taking shots at the man who saved the Union, freed the slaves, and was murdered by an assassin’s bullet is . . . awkward. Ferguson writes that “after the assassination, Lincoln’s acquaintances, including those who had bitterly opposed him, imposed a self-censorship. His martyrdom, one journalist said at the time, ‘has made it impossible to speak the truth of Abraham Lincoln hereafter.’” Even today, his faults pose a rather prickly dilemma for critics.

Nevertheless, these days there is a renewed interest in knocking Lincoln

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down. The most celebrated attack is *The Real Lincoln*, by libertarian economist Thomas DiLorenzo—one of the top-selling selections of the Conservative Book Club this past decade. (He followed it up with *Lincoln Unmasked: What You're Not Supposed to Know About Dishonest Abe*.)

DiLorenzo, Ferguson writes, followed a well-known pattern of “awakening”: Many people who had internalized “a vague but intensely admiring account of Lincoln in their youth . . . were startled when they learned that some of it—at least—wasn’t entirely accurate. And before long the whole edifice came tumbling down.” DiLorenzo adds to the drama by claiming that the Lincoln Cult is a “huge con job at the heart of our history.”

Ferguson is chiefly concerned with how historical fact is refracted through historical writing and the broader culture. He writes: “In trying to reconstruct Lincoln’s life, and particularly his inner life, any biographer has to take account of the contradiction and inconsistencies in the personal recollections.” As he physically follows Lincoln’s footsteps—at the same time retracing his own childhood—Ferguson lays out the contradictions of history through those who make Lincoln part of their lives. In the city of Springfield, Ill.—the type of place “where the tourist bro-

chures list the VFW Hall in the directories of recommended restaurants (‘Cuisine: American’)—scholars mix with tourists, all of whom claim Abe as their own.

Walt Disney almost claimed him, as well. Plans were in motion to fuse the world’s most wholesome entertainment conglomerate with America’s premier iconic statesman—in a theme park. It came close to happening, but, as one of the planners remarked, “People in the scholarly community were already referring to the ‘D word,’ as though Disney was something horrible and unmentionable.”

But Lincoln is, in a uniquely American way, a celebrity—like Elvis or Lindsay Lohan. His signature sells for upwards of \$5,000. Fans own his hair. A woman claims to own his chamber pot. Legions of Lincoln impersonators (Abes, as they’re known) tough it out in vans as they trek across Middle America. Elsewhere, Lincoln leadership seminars tutor thousands on the secrets of getting things done. Dale Carnegie considered Lincoln’s story “one of the most fascinating tales in all the annals of mankind.”

Carnegie was right. There are 14,000 books to prove it. But, in this case, how we live with Lincoln is as entertaining as history itself. Ferguson’s deft humor, the characters he unearths, and his eye for humanity all make *Land of Lincoln* as eloquent a defense of the man and his legacy as you’re going to find. **NR**

■ FILM ■

Punch the Director!

ROSS DOUTHAT

THERE are a variety of interesting observations that one might make about the trends in American popular culture that gave rise to Eli Roth’s *Hostel: Part II*, the latest in a spate of gruesome, torture-heavy horror flicks that includes the original *Hostel*, the *Saw* trilogy, the remakes of *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre* and *The Hills Have Eyes*, and stand-alone efforts like *The Devil’s Rejects*, *Wolf Creek*, and *Turistas*. Start with the obvious: that the Seventies are back. There’s something about rising gas prices, apocalyptic anxieties, and unpopular foreign wars, apparently, that makes filmmakers turn to brutal, nihilistic gore—just as they’ve turned once more to zombie movies, paranoid political thrillers, and gritty renovations of classic American genres (though this time around, those reinventions are more likely to come from HBO than the Hollywood studios).

From this initial insight—that the horror movie has circled back to its 1970s roots, trading in the silliness of Freddy, Jason, and the *Scream* films for straightforward gore and existential despair—one might go on to note that a new element has been woven in, a thread of imperial anxiety appropriate to an age of blowback and terrorist violence. The gorefests of the 1970s terrified a nation that was coming home from Vietnam; they were about the darkness waiting in the heartland’s heart, whether in Leatherface’s Texas or Michael Myers’s Illinois. Some of their contemporary imitators recapitulate that theme, but others—the *Hostel* films, in particular, but also John Stockwell’s *Turistas*—locate their terrors overseas, in Eastern European abattoirs or Brazilian operating rooms. They send their young Americans abroad to be slaughtered, in Old Worlds and Third Worlds that the New Worlders visit without even beginning to comprehend.

In *Hostel* and its sequel, unwary backpackers become fodder for a “hunting club” run by a black-hearted Slovak aristocrat.

FEBRUARY 12, 1809

You must have known, even when you were young,
What the task was, and all that it would mean
To set the people free, yet make them one.

You must have looked ahead and seen it written,
The simple words that needed to be said.
No matter the odds were zero to none.

Someone had to come forward at that moment
And make the words be flesh, the spirit bone.
And had to watch the long bloodbath—Bull Run,

Antietam, Shiloh—and not give in to grief,
Or step into a dark pitfall of fear.
God knows the darkness wanted you undone.

Something in me would celebrate this day
Saying, “Eat this bread,; drink this wine.
Gird yourself. The war is not yet won.”

—OLIVIA ELLIS

crat and populated by bloodthirsty members of the globalized elite; it's Dracula plus Davos, an atavistic menace retooled for the information age. In *Turistas*, it's the wretched of the earth rising up against their oppressors, as a Brazilian doctor drags American tourists to his jungle lair and harvests their organs, in a small-scale attempt to reverse the flow of kidneys and lungs from poor donors to rich patients in the West. In both movies, the pleasures of being a young American abroad—boozing it up amid Old Europe charm, downing tequila on a tropical beach with topless women—are the bait that lures the victims to their doom.

One might then draw the obvious conclusion that these films are at once expressions of our anxieties about War on Terror violence—their storylines may be implausible, but hard-to-watch images of Westerners getting tortured to death in foreign locales resonate for a reason—and commentaries on our fascination with that violence. They're responses to what happened at Abu Ghraib, perhaps, and to America's not-so-secret love affair with hardcore pornography; they're the next logical step in the commodification of the human body. Go on in this vein for long enough, and one might eventually reach the heights of self-serious analysis attained by, say, Owen Gleiberman of *Entertainment Weekly*, who interpreted *Hostel II* as a serious meditation on the ravages of globalization. "Roth isn't just whipping up a blood-smeared megaplex hellhole. He's asking: In a world of global depravity, where anyone can buy anything, is homicide-for-kicks-for-the-right-price really such a huge leap?"

Except that "whipping up a blood-smeared megaplex hellhole" is *exactly* what Roth is doing—and what's more, it's the only thing he's doing. All the high-flown cultural analysis that this review just offered up isn't exactly false—these sorts of movies *do* reflect certain contemporary American anxieties—but it's also the kind of excuse that people who ought to know better use to justify things that shouldn't be justified. Like, say, stripping a young woman and hanging her upside down from the ceiling, and then inviting the audience to watch (and listen to her screams, of course) as another woman strips naked, lies beneath her, and slowly tears her apart with a scythe, bathing in the blood like Countess Bathory.

That's about as bad as it gets in *Hostel II*—the cannibalism, castration, mutilation,

and dismemberment that follow are mild by comparison (though only by comparison). I should note that I don't consider myself a squeamish person where cinematic violence is concerned, and I certainly think that gore and torture can have their artistic uses—from Gloucester's blinding in *King Lear* to the sanguinary tendencies of Mel Gibson's recent work. What's wrong with *Hostel II* isn't that Roth depicts torture; it's that depicting torture, and being "creative" about it, is this smug, sickening, pleased-with-itself movie's principal reason for existing. The audience isn't paying to watch a movie that contains a torture scene, any more than a guy renting an "adult" movie at the local video store is renting a film that happens to contain a sex scene; it's paying to watch torture, with the movie—including all those Important Themes—as window dressing to the money shots.

And whereas "normal" pornography is a debasement of the sexual act, a degradation of an essentially positive human experience, torture-porn of this sort is something else entirely. It's a radical experiment in evil-as-entertainment, one that places an artist's gifts in the service of the impulses that animated Torquemada, or Saddam's inquisitors. No, it's worse than that, because the tortures Roth has invented for *Hostel II* don't pretend to be designed to extract information, or even to terrorize a population and preserve a regime. They exist only to exist, in the same way that what began as coercive interrogations at Abu Ghraib ended as self-conscious spectacle: Torture as a way to while away the boredom of guard duty, torture for the sake of torture.

Abu Ghraib was real, of course, and Roth's Slovakian meat-grinder is fictional; no actors were harmed, physically at least, in the making of this project. And every censorship regime fails to make necessary distinctions: You start by going after the Roths of the world, and end up banning *Lolita*. Yet even so, if you offered me the chance to play censor for a day and send Roth to a jail cell alongside Lynndie England, I'm not sure I'd refuse.

Failing that, I'd like an opportunity to punch him in the face. It would make for an interesting commentary on the violence that's implicit in the relationship between the critic and the entertainer in our globalized age; also, the sick bastard has it coming. **NR**

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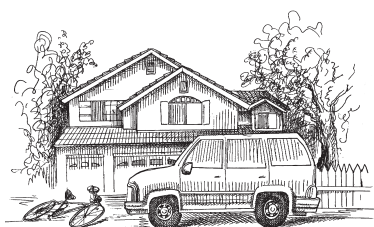
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NATIONAL REVIEW

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Out of The Box



JOHN DERBYSHIRE

DID you catch the last episode of *The Sopranos*? I missed it. Worse yet, I missed the entire *Sopranos* phenomenon—have never seen a single episode, nor even a fraction of one. Matter of fact, there was another program on that night I wanted to see: *The Tudors*. A friend had told me this was great fun: a glossy, botoxed updating (he said) of those BBC historical dramas of the early 1970s. I loved those: Keith Michell lurching around in cloth of gold, cheeks padded out like a hamster, Glenda Jackson snarling “God’s death!” at Robert Hardy. I wanted to see *The Tudors*.

I didn’t get to, though. Both *The Sopranos* and *The Tudors* are shown on premium cable, which we don’t have. My cable company wants a \$4.95 monthly fee for HBO, and we don’t feel like paying that. It’s not, or not mainly, because we are tightwads. We’re just TV minimalists. We have only one set in the house, a 15-year-old Sony XBR in the living room. We don’t watch it much.

This isn’t so much anti-TV snobbery as just a failure fully to internalize the TV habit. Both adult Stragglers grew up in TV-free environments. To be sure, we both subsequently made friends with the medium. There is plenty of TV I am glad I watched. For amusement, there was that great mid-1970s CBS Saturday-evening lineup of Mary Tyler Moore, Bob Newhart, and Carol Burnett; for instruction, Kenneth Clark’s *Civilisation* series; for narrative pleasure, those marvelous BBC costume dramas. Middle-aged human beings often slip back towards childhood

mental habits, though, and I watch much less TV now than formerly.

That puts me at a disadvantage in conversation. I seem to be the only *Sopranos* virgin in the U.S.A. Even the founder of this magazine has written a column about the show. Being TV-challenged has recently left me at a loss in political conversation, too. Never having seen a single episode of *Law & Order*, I had to rack my brains to recall anything at all about Fred Thompson.

More than that, I am aware that having an attitude about TV is singular in itself. Any attitude at all, I mean. Pretty much nobody under 50 has an attitude towards TV, any more than they have an attitude towards the sky. TV is a thoroughly integrated part of their consciousness, internalized at a very early age. Their infant brains re-wired themselves to incorporate TV in the *a priori* background of existence, along with (according to Kant) space, time, and arithmetic, and thereafter they have never needed to think about TV, in fact are probably unable to.

People like Mr. and Mrs. Straggler, who grew up without a TV in the house, are stuck with having an attitude about it. TV is a thing we notice, a thing we think about. Back when most adults had had TV-free childhoods, TV was a topic of argument, a focus of opinion—not merely for the content of particular programs, but as a thing in itself. It featured in stories and novels, as a *character*.

Bruce Jay Friedman wrote some particularly memorable stories about TV-the-thing back in the 1960s. There was “The Killer in the TV Set,” for instance, in which the family TV served as a conduit for malevolent spirits or aliens who first hypnotized the viewers, then ate them. In another Friedman story, “For Your Viewing Entertainment,” a newly dead person, in order to win his angel wings, had to work for a week as a TV variety-show emcee, in a special program broadcast to just one viewer, whom the ghost-emcee had to scare literally to death. I wonder how a TV-raised person would see these stories? As quaint, I suppose, and slightly absurd; as I felt when reading recently about the very first portrait photographers, gazing with fear-tinged wonder at the tiny, exact images of their subjects’ faces.

The best-known literary description

of the TV generation gap is in John Cheever’s 1969 novel *Bullet Park*. Eliot Nailles, the suburban protagonist, has a son who, at age nine, becomes hooked on TV watching. The father-son dialogues that follow have echoed through a hundred million American households.

“Do you have any homework,” Nailles asked.

“A little,” Tony said.

“Well I think you’d better do it before you watch television,” Nailles said. On the tube some cartoon figures were dancing a jig.

“I’ll just watch to the end of this show,” Tony said.

It ends with Nailles throwing the TV out of the house. “It landed on a cement paving and broke with the rich, glassy music of an automobile collision.” Do you have children, gentle reader? If so, don’t tell me you didn’t feel a warm throb of approval reading that. My old XBR is too heavy to lift, let alone throw, or it might long since have gone the way of Eliot Nailles’s set.

Now TV technology is going through one of its small revolutions, to something called “high definition.” TV sets are also becoming more like computers, with the



corresponding rats’-nest tangles of wires and connectors. A friend of mine recently bought one of these new models—a Samsung with plasma screen, high definition, and so on. He showed me the instruction book that came with it. The book has 65 pages, all in English. That doesn’t include set-up instructions, which are in a separate book! (Which my friend did not

read. He paid a technician to wire the thing up.)

Presumably my cable company has some magic that will allow me to continue watching these new high-definition broadcasts on my low-definition XBR. I am attached to the old beast, and shall hate to part with it. When at last it gives up the ghost, I shall have to suppress my dislike of all new things and buy one of these wide, flat, strangely thin high-definition numbers. One of those you hang on the wall, perhaps. Oh, well. There will be one advantage, at least. If I get angry with the thing, I shall be able to do what John Cheever’s hero did, without slipping a disc.

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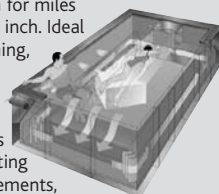
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Debasing Democracy

NEW YORK, JUNE 5

ROBERT Shrum has written a book in which he tells all, or at least leaves one hoping that what he has told is all there is to tell. If, in the dawn's early light, freshly empanelled fathers convened to found a civil society, you could discredit anybody who came up with the idea of political democracy by the simple expedient of handing him Robert Shrum's book, *No Excuses: Concessions of a Serial Campaigner*. I interpose a personal note, which is that after a dozen hours with Mr. Shrum on television, I came away liking him, but this is testimony less to his virtues than to my weakness for happy scurrility.

Bob Shrum is a political campaign manager who has had great victories and spectacular losses. He has succeeded with dozens of senators and representatives and governors but has failed in guiding eight Democrats who sought to be president. In this book he tells you with the candor of a postulant seeking holy orders what he does for you if you are his candidate. To be sure, you have to qualify for his patronage. You have to be left-minded, though not a doctrinal socialist. You have to have a prospect, even if dim, of success. You have to have access to money. And you have to have at least a measure of malleability: What's the use in hiring Bob Shrum if you are going to ignore all his advice?

Mr. Shrum tells us in his book about his dealings with his candidates. There are great stories told, and one doesn't want the reader to be discouraged by thinking that Shrum is opening up the equivalent of a pharmaceutical inventory of mind-altering drugs for the voters. There is enough *méchanceté* in Shrum's narratives to preserve the spice of modern politics. If venality were entirely spruced up, the descent to hell would be without any charm at all, and the very

meaning of temptation would be lost.

Consider a single item. The year is 1988. George H. W. Bush has picked Sen. Dan Quayle as his running mate, and Quayle is debating Democratic opponent Sen. Lloyd Bentsen. What is about to happen is one of the most decisive political wisecracks of modern times. Bush-Quayle went on to win against Dukakis-Bentsen, but for a moment, Bentsen's line dominated the news. Here is the story, as revealed by Shrum:

"In August I'd read Maureen Dowd's *New York Times* story on a Quayle press conference where he'd said: 'I'm very close to the same age as Jack Kennedy was when he was elected—not vice president, but president.' What an opening, I thought then. Now, at the conference table, I predicted to Bentsen that, when the issue of experience was raised, as it inevitably would be, Quayle was likely to rehash what he'd been saying and invoke JFK—in terms of their similar ages, or the number of years they'd served in the House and the Senate.

Had Bentsen known JFK? Yes, he had served with him. Did he feel comfortable, if the chance came, telling Quayle that he was no John Kennedy?

Sure. The moment was worded, practiced, and polished in the mock debates. Bentsen went into the encounter with Quayle armed with a devastating rhetorical polyptych: 'Senator, I served with Jack Kennedy. I knew Jack Kennedy. Jack Kennedy was a friend of mine. Senator, you're no Jack Kennedy.'

It doesn't surprise that candidates for political office inject theater into what they say and how they say it. But Shrum is willing to exhumate almost any political event, to give its DNA and rob it, after the fact, of what claim it had to spontaneity. In his discussion of the training given to Al Gore for his debates with the younger Bush in 2000, we learn that Gore was told just how close to Bush physically he should go, for maximum effect, when they shook hands at the start of the debate.

What *No Excuses* tells us is indeed the

inside story, and there is no reason to suppose that it is less than entirely accurate. But it leaves the reader wondering whether the inside story goes further than to give us to understand why Clinton won, or Bush lost. We are made to ask what it is that political democracy gives us. The system is utilitarian. But is it a fit object of faith and hope?

Yes, Free Libby

NEW YORK, JUNE 8

THE talk about a pardon for Lewis Libby is food for thought. Partisans are grateful that there is time, even if not much time, to think, pending the appeals that are under way challenging the conviction at a technical level.

There isn't much to hope for here from Libby's point of view. The evidence appears to have been overwhelming that he lied to the FBI, and that in so doing he hindered the execution of justice.

But appeals, even if judicially unpromising, are politically useful. President Bush can legitimately postpone action—or prolong inaction—by waiting for the appeals to make their appointed rounds. But he has other things to weigh besides formal guilt. The reason is that although Libby is certainly guilty of having lied, he is not, in the view of weighty arbiters of the law, deserving of a jail sentence.

What he did was to involve himself in a security matter of no consequence. It was of no consequence at the time Libby figured in the proceedings because the nature of Joseph Wilson's mission to Niger had already been revealed in the press, and his wife, Valerie Plame, was already moving out of the covert branch of the CIA. The underlying issue had to do with the authority of the United States to conceal the true commission of people acting covertly for U.S. intelligence.

My own involvement in such a deception became known many years after I practiced it, when a holy member of the liberal elite (the Rev. William Sloane Coffin) dropped the word to somebody that when I was in Mexico City ostensibly doing work for my father, I was actually there doing work for the CIA.

If, while in Mexico, I had been asked



by the authorities what I was doing there, my duty would have been to deceive, and I'd have done so without any sense of debt-deferred to my father confessor. The U.S. law making it a crime to disclose the identity of a covert agent is designed to protect such operatives.

In the present case, Mrs. Wilson had already been assigned to non-covert work in the CIA. This means that Libby's mentioning her to reporter Judith Miller wasn't defiant of the law that seeks to provide for the safety of operatives in foreign parts. And he was not charged with having broken that law, but rather with lying to FBI agents about where he had initially obtained his information. Attempting to deflect such an investigation is a very different matter from endangering the life of a CIA agent.

There has been speculation that Libby is unqualified for a pardon because he has not confessed contrition for what he has done. This invites profound moral thought on what is appropriate behavior for someone convicted of a formalistic breach of the law.

Obviously Libby is sorry that he ran afoul of the law. Obviously he is sorry that he didn't find some means to put off the FBI this side of lying to FBI agents. But contrition of that sort is not going to satisfy the Hang Libby crowd. Because what these folks want is to damage the Bush administration. If Libby goes to jail, they will have the satisfaction that a former chief of staff of the vice president is behind bars. If he is pardoned, they will have the satisfaction of claiming that the chief executive is declaring that any crime done in the service of the president will be protected by the exercise of a presidential pardon.

The reason to give thought to the triviality of Libby's offense is precisely to unburden Bush of any sense of collaboration with true crime if he uses his pardoning power. No one, in the perspective of history, believes the first President Bush to have been a furtive advocate of crime when he pardoned Caspar Weinberger for involvement in the Iran-Contra mess. We are not talking about a Mark Rich, an ongoing criminal pardoned by Bill Clinton for indefensible reasons.

Mr. Bush will have to exhibit the courage for which he is loved and hated, by doing the right thing, and letting Mr. Libby get on with life.

Goodbye, Ton'

NEW YORK, JUNE 12

THE genius of David Chase, the originator of *The Sopranos*, was never more evident than in the last episode of the series.

I viewed it with an earnest and cosmopolitan young man and his lady, and we wondered, as we waited for the show to start, what would the final act do to Tony Soprano. Speculation in the press had offered three alternative endings: 1) Tony is killed; 2) Tony survives and kills the leader of the other gang; 3) Tony makes a deal with the FBI.

None of these happened. What happened in the final scene was—nothing.

The “nothing” was brilliantly set up. Tony is sitting in a booth in a restaurant. At some point, two burly men made to order for killing fields come into the restaurant and sit down at another table.

Soon Tony's wife arrives and sits down next to him. Then their son arrives and takes a seat. The only family member missing is the daughter. You are looking at your watch and there are only two minutes left in the hour. Where is the wretched Meadow? Well, we see her. She's outside, having a hard time parking her car. Backing a car up when there are only nine seconds to go before Pearl Harbor, or 9/11, or Hiroshima, can make for the slowest parking backup in history, which Meadow's was. But she succeeds, finally, and walks toward the restaurant.

The camera idles toward the entrance, and you rap your watch because it is showing only 15 seconds to go! Then suddenly you are looking at an entirely black screen. *The Sopranos* is over. And nothing has changed.

That was the genius, the parable, of the most successful television drama in history, giving the viewer hour after hour, year after year, exploitation of sex, exhibitionism, murder, sadism, cynicism and hypocrisy. And, according to David Chase, we are to remember that such is as it is. There was no pictorial, no dramatic end to *The Sopranos* because its point was to depict life a) as practiced by the Mafia, and b) as tolerated, and in fact swooned over, by the viewing public.

What theatrical obligation is there to call an end to it? To do that courts

censoriousness, self-doubt.

Commenting on an episode in Year Three, I wrote of a scene involving a younger member of the gang conspicuous mostly for his fearless swagger. He is enraged when a girl utters an obscenity at his expense. In some detail, we are shown how he hits and clubs her—to death, we discover moments later when Tony comes on the scene.

Tony is angered by his lieutenant's loss of control and hits him hard enough to cause Tony's wrist to swell. Moments later, Tony laments the transgression of his junior killer, who in beating the girl mortally committed an offense against Soprano protocols. The reproach brings instant surrogate action, and we have the pleasure of viewing the quick execution of retributory justice, though for some reason, the viewers were deprived by Mr. Chase of a nice visual of the execution.

The sophistication of the Mephistophilian creator of *The Sopranos* was never underrated. The language is purely instrumental, even when the dialogue is between Tony and his resourceful shrink. What the language itself doesn't communicate, facial muscles eloquently tell us. There is no face in Madame Tussaud's that combines better than Tony Soprano's the acceptance of irony, the grit of resolution, the trivialization of theft and murder. There is true underworld humor, and you are free to liberate yourself from the drag of orthodoxy as one more pistol shot explodes into the face of a character whose time is up, and who falls under the wheels of a car on the move.

If one of the burly men had opened up in the restaurant with an Uzi, ending the lives of all four of the Sopranos, you'd have felt a quiver of moral relief. Instead, you were reminded by that blank screen that that kind of thing goes on and on, and reminded, also, of its bewitching power to entertain a spellbound, onanistic audience.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE



“Natural selection is not a cop-out!”

happy warrior

MARK STEYN

After Arafatuation

THEY stole almost everything,” complained Fatah spokesman Ahmed Abdel Rahman, “including Arafat’s Nobel Peace Prize medal.” There was something rather poignant about the looting of the late Chairman Arafat’s home in Gaza City by Hamas’s finest—and not just because, as the blogger Maynard pointed out on Tammy Bruce’s website, if Hamas had only waited a year or two, the Nobel wallahs would have been happy to give the lads a Peace Prize of their own. Sadly, Israel’s latest designated “partner in peace” was in too much of a hurry for their piece.

It will be the first of many indignities heaped on the Chairman’s memory. In years to come, the world’s late-20th-century Arafatuation should make an interesting case study on the ease with which Western illusions and Arab opportunism can combine in entirely disastrous ways. A good starting point would be the famous 1974 resolution by the Arab League declaring Arafat’s PLO to be the “sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.” Scholars will marvel at the way the region’s kings and dictators not only ran this absurd banner up the flagpole but persuaded just about everybody on the planet to salute it: The United Nations began treating Arafat as the leader of a sovereign nation, giving him “official” status and inviting him to make speeches. He was a head of state lacking merely a state to head, and in overlooking that technicality the U.N. only underlined his inevitability.

To be the “sole legitimate representative” is an impressive claim for an organization barely a decade old. But, that aside, how does any group get to be the “sole” representative of a people? In Afghanistan and Iraq, for example, we understood there were multiple representatives representing different slivers of these diverse peoples. But in “Palestine” it was a lot easier. The rap against most Middle Eastern nations is that they’re the artificial

inventions of the French and British colonial administrators of 1922. There may be an Iraq drawn on a map by Winston Churchill after lunch but there’s no “Iraqis”—just Sunni, Shiite, Kurds. But it’s the opposite scenario in “Palestine.” There has never been a Palestinian state yet there is apparently a Palestinian people, fully formed and of one mind and marching in lockstep behind their “sole legitimate representative.”

We now know this is not the case. Just to pluck more or less at random from the wires:

“Jamal Abu Jadian, a top Fatah commander, fled his home in the northern Gaza Strip on Tuesday evening dressed as a woman . . . When he arrived at a hospital a few hundred meters away from his house, he was discovered by a group of Hamas gunmen, who took turns shooting him in the head with automatic rifles. ‘They literally blew his head off with more than 40 bullets,’ said a doctor.”

Also:

“Muhammad Swairki, 28, a cook for Palestinian Authority Chairman Mahmoud Abbas’s presidential guard, was thrown to his death, with his hands and legs tied, from a 15-story apartment building in Gaza City on Sunday.”

Muslims killing Muslims. Not a Jew for miles. So whose fault is it? Jeremy Bowen, the BBC’s Middle East Editor and one of those chaps who’s been authoritatively explaining the Palestinians and Israelis to British telly viewers for as long as I can remember, was in no doubt: The Palestinian Authority has “already taken a severe battering from Israel’s military actions over the last seven years and, more recently, by the punishing financial sanctions imposed by Israel and other countries after Hamas won a free election at the beginning of last year . . . The financial sanctions they imposed, which caused severe hardship and helped fuel the violence in Gaza by making people even more desperate . . .” Etc.

“Severe hardship.” “Desperation.” In

fact, “aid” to the Palestinian territories has doubled since Hamas was elected. They apparently spend most of it on their militias—the crack chef-defenestrating unit and whatnot—plus miscellaneous “Islamist causes.” But again, as with that ancient Arab League resolution, what’s interesting are the assumptions behind Bowen’s analysis: No matter what depravity they commit, it is always the fault of others. If I were one of the many charming Palestinians one meets in Paris and London and New York, I would regard this as not just condescending but racist.

But that’s the least of it. The fact is that, to Bowen & Co., the “Palestinian people” were never more than anonymous extras to fill out the backdrop for their “sole legitimate representative,” Arafat. Lest you think I exaggerate the West’s Arafatuation, bear in mind that one of Bowen’s BBC colleagues broke down in tears reporting on the old monster’s passing.

His actual subjects are drier-eyed, and even less sentimental about the kleptocrat’s bespoke sidekicks, the secular socialists such as Saeb Erekat and Hanan Ashrawi promoted on CNN as the “representatives” of the Palestinian people. They don’t represent anybody. But it was foolish to assume that in the vacuum of their ersatz Arafatist identity something

genuine would not one day take root: Hamas is it, the umpteenth branch office of Iranian-promoted pan-Islamism. Not a pretty sight but, unlike the pseudo-nationalist struggle promoted by Arafat, it’s for real.

Still, if it’s any consolation to the late Chairman, the killing of his supporters is part of a grand tradition. Arafat’s uncle, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and the first “Arab nationalist” colossus of the modern era, launched his revolt against the British in 1936. By the time the dust settled, there were hundreds of dead British, hundreds of dead Jews, and thousands of dead Muslims, the vast majority of that last group murdered by the Mufti’s men as part of intra-Muslim score-settling. “Kill the Jews wherever you find them,” the Mufti liked to say, but, for all the stirring rhetoric, he found it a lot easier to kill his fellow Muslims. Even in Palestine, some things never change.

NR

**Muslims
killing
Muslims.
Not a Jew
for miles.
So whose
fault is it?**

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